

The Ryedale Historian

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*Helmsley and District
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Notes



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Editorial

There was standing room only - and not much of that - for the Society's meeting in November 1996. Professor Don Brothwell of the University of York gave an account of the discovery of the famous Ice Man whose well preserved body, remnants of clothing and weapons, found high in the Alps, are being examined by an international team of experts, of whom he is one. Another notable lecture was by Mr Peter Gibson of the York Glaziers Trust who showed us a further series of glowing images from stained glass windows that, because of their elevated position, are normally inaccessible.

A visit to the English Heritage store at Helmsley showed members that, as well as lack of money, one of the difficulties archaeologists must endure is lack of space. At 8,000 square feet, the store looks as big as an aircraft hangar. It accommodates large unwieldy objects that no one quite wants to throw away. Among these are 10,000 fragments of stone, some carved, some coloured, cleared from Rievaulx Abbey as part of a scheme by the then Ministry of Works to give jobs to local men returning from the 14-18 War. Another object is the only known example of a medieval lead bucket from Richmond. Without the store it would almost certainly have been melted down to help mend the windows in York Minster. Here it rests until someone can think of what to do with it; re-burial is an option, we were told.

The Society congratulates its member, Dr Isabel McLean, on winning the Yorkshire History Prize for 1996 for an account of the life of Joseph Foord, the 18th century engineer. With the help of a grant from the National Park Authority Dr McLean has made an extensive reappraisal of the remarkable series of watercourses Foord built to bring water from the wetter northern side of the moors to the more fertile south.

'Kirkdale Archaeology' published as a supplement to this issue of the *Ryedale Historian* contains a report of the most recent finds from the excavation at St Gregory's Minster, including the lead plate with Anglo-Saxon writing, and the fragment of glass rod. Work will resume in the spring.

Sadly, the period under review was marked by the sudden death of Robert Wilton who had been Treasurer since 1989. Appointed manager of the Westminster Bank at Kirkbymoorside and at Helmsley in 1968, he quickly became involved in voluntary work. Besides our own Society he was Treasurer of the Helmsley branch of Yorkshire Cancer Research, and of the Ryedale branch of Guide Dogs for The Blind. He was Clerk to Beadlam Parish Council and Deanery Financial Adviser. He is remembered with much affection.

Helmsley and District Archaeological Society has once again received grants towards the publication of the *Ryedale Historian* from Ryedale District Council and the North York Moors National Park Authority. Both are coping with difficult financial circumstances and so we express our special gratitude.

Anne Taylor.

The Shepherds of Appleton le Moors

by Shirley Brooke

Many visitors to Appleton are surprised to find in this street village of mainly late 17th and 18th century houses four fine early Victorian buildings.

1. The first school, later the Vicarage, designed by Henry Hall of London and completed in 1854.

2. The Hall, now Appleton Hall Hotel, was originally two buildings; the first smaller house behind the main building was probably designed by Henry Hall and dates from 1854. The larger house, designed by John Gibson, was completed in 1858.
3. The Church, designed in the French Gothic style by J.L. Pearson was consecrated in 1866 and built at a cost of £10,000, using mainly village labour.
4. The school, now the Village Hall also designed by J.L. Pearson and built with village labour at a cost of £2,000, was opened in 1867. These last two buildings were built by Mrs Shepherd mainly as a memorial to her husband, Joseph, who died in 1862.

Captain Joseph Shepherd and his wife, Mary Hyett returned to live in Appleton when the Hall was completed and were determined to share some of their considerable wealth with the villagers.

Joseph Shepherd resolved that no child should leave the village uneducated as he had done. After his death his wife completed the task they had begun together.

Joseph Shepherd was born in 1804 into a poor labourer's family, he was the fourth and last surviving son of John and Susanna, née Scoresby. At the time of Joseph's birth John and Susanna had three other sons and a daughter, Ann. There were a further eleven children who died in infancy and are remembered on their parents gravestone in Lastingham church yard. We have been able to trace the Shepherd family line back to 1630 when John Shepherd of Appleton, married Elizabeth [surname unknown] at Lastingham. Joseph's father, John, was born in 1753 and his mother, Susanna, in 1765, to the Scoresby family who lived at Nutholme in the neighbouring parish of Cropton.

The Scoresby connection is important for Susanna's brother, William, became the most famous whaling captain to sail out of Whitby in the 18th and early 19th centuries. There is evidence that three of John and Susanna's sons spent some time apprenticed to their Uncle William, but the only one who remained at sea was Joseph.

Joseph became a skilled seaman and was made Captain of a Whitby ship while still a young man. On one of his journeys he visited Gloucester where he met and married Mary Hyett in 1833. They moved to London where Joseph formed a partnership with Mary's brother-in-law, John Lidgett. Their plan was to buy old ships, refit them, and sell them at a profit to acquire the capital to develop a fleet of new ships. At about this time they heard of rich deposits of guano in South America and sent off their ships to exploit it. Joseph unwisely sold the cargo cheaply and told others where it could be found. This resulted in a bitter falling out and an end to the partnership. Joseph soon had another partner, Frederick Cowles, a cousin of his wife's. This partnership flourished; both became rich and successful businessmen. Their ships carried cargo and emigrants around the world for many years. By the 1850s Joseph had amassed a fortune that would be the equivalent of at least £1 million in today's money. He and Mary decided to return to his native village to spend the rest of their days. According to Mary's niece, Elizabeth Lidgett, Mr and Mrs Shepherd used to stay at Lastingham Vicarage at times with Mr and Mrs Easterby who had lately come there. Presently they preferred to have a place of their own to come to in the shooting season. In 1854 they bought an acre of land from Luke and Betsy Shepherd, cousins, and built a cottage. A little later Mr Shepherd's ideas enlarged and he determined to give up their house near London and build a large house at Appleton. So he built the Hall as it now stands. He pulled down cottages and laid out gardens very much as they are



Appleton Hall about 1890

now except that half of the pleasure garden was kept as a paddock. "The Vicar's Close" where he built a gardener's cottage, stables, etc. he obtained in exchange for a field at Lastingham which he made over to the Vicar with the consent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The Shepherd story continues mainly with Joseph's only sister, Ann, who was born in 1801. She married her first cousin, Robert, who was the village blacksmith in 1823. She and Robert were almost as prolific as her parents for by 1843 they had eleven surviving children. Joseph and Mary who were childless, wanted to help the family. In 1841 Joseph engaged the services of a schoolmaster, Frederick Collins Dawson, to come to Appleton to teach his nephews and nieces and other children of the village. Mr Dawson remained in the village from January 1841 until December 1843. He left a diary containing a day to day account of village life and the countryside but saying very little of the work of his school. This diary is a valuable source of information.

In 1843 Ann and Robert, encouraged by Joseph, decided to emigrate to Australia for the sake of their children's future. They had £300 in savings and another £300 given them by Joseph as well as a free passage in his ship, the "Francis Spaight". There is a touching description of their departure in Dawson's diary, July 5th (Wednesday) 1843. After 7 we began to look out for them and at length we saw the whole family, father, mother and eleven children coming slowly along on the other side of the road with many of their most intimate acquaintances in their rear. The sight was an affecting one for they were nearly all weeping, while the villagers, attracted by the sound of the wagon, which accompanied them, were coming to their doors to take a last look and bid a last farewell. On reaching the auctioneer (Ann's brother, William) the wagon stopped and the whole family entered the house, round which the villagers assembled in groups in order to witness their final departure. In about half an hour they made their final appearance again,

weeping bitterly and, after taking an affectionate leave of relatives and neighbours who they would never see again, set off on their long long journey accompanied by the proprietor of the wagon and his son; the auctioneer and his housekeeper, and myself.'

The family travelled to Hull and thence to London by sea. The voyage to Australia began from Torbay on August 5th 1843. They reached the primitive port of Adelaide on 24 November. At that time Adelaide was known as 'Port Misery'. Ann and Robert had taken many goods with them. This is the report of their arrival in the *Adelaide Observer* of 25th November 1843. 'The arrival of the 'Francis Spaight' yesterday from London has brought letters and papers to the 27th July. She has had a remarkably fine passage, having quitted her last anchorage in Torbay on 5th August. She brings sixty cabin, intermediate, and steerage passengers, amongst whom is a brother of the owner, an experienced agriculturalist, with eleven children'. The cargo reported in the *Observer* was - 'Mr Robert Shepherd. 1400 bars, 53 bundles iron; 2 bars steel; 2 casks; 5 kegs, 7 bundles; 1 vice; 1 anvil; 1 bellows; 1 beam; 8 weights; 22 iron pots; 1 bundle scythes; 2 casks salt; 2 cases; 1 cask; 6 cart wheels and 7 tons coal.' - Robert obviously intended to carry on his trade of blacksmith.

He rented a shop in Adelaide and Ann and her daughters stayed behind to sell the goods while he and his older sons went to Aldinga, to land they had bought to build a house - Hawthorn Farm- which is still standing and occupied today. The family prospered in Australia; another son, tactfully called Hyett, was born in 1845. All the children were left legacies of £1,000 each by the terms of Joseph's will. Most of them used the money to buy land and many of them were almost as prolific as their parents. Ann and Robert had at least 78 surviving grandchildren. By 1993 when the family gathered to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the arrival of Robert and Ann in Adelaide, their numbers



Hawthorn Farm, Aldinga, Australia

© Margaret Pressley

had grown to about 3,000. Many of them make the journey back to Appleton to look proudly on the monuments erected by their ancestor.

The Shepherds left behind in Appleton did not fare so well. William, Ann's eldest brother, was a successful auctioneer and appraiser. Dawson describes visits to the farm sales with William. He married for the second time in 1845, this marriage produced three children. It seems that at least one of them emigrated to New Zealand for William died in Auckland in 1868. Ann's third brother, John, remained at Appleton. He lived with his mother Susanna, after his father's death in 1807 until she died in 1829. Then he married Elizabeth Woodcock when he was 36 and she was 19. This marriage produced eight children; three sons and five daughters born between 1833 and 1850. They were orphaned early, both their parents had died by 1854. Captain Joseph and Mary provided for them generously. The boys were given property and the two youngest unmarried daughters were taken to live with Mary at the Hall after Joseph's death. Ann died there in 1940 at the age of 93; Elizabeth had died in 1928 aged 78.

William, the eldest brother, farmed Church Farm, one of the largest farms in the village until the 1890s. He did not marry and appears to have left the farm to John, the youngest brother. John, of Skipster Hagg, was another successful business man. He had interests in the Rosedale Mines and when he died in 1920 he owned the Hall, two farms, six cottages, and a building site. The estate was sold in 1941. Joseph, the middle son, was the only one to produce children. He was listed as the owner of Moorfield in Appleton in 1895, and as Yeoman of Rillington. His daughter, Susannah Scoresby Shepherd, was the last of the Appleton Shepherds; she died at Moorfield in 1960.

Sources

1. Peter Shepherd; 'Simple Annals: The Story of Robert and Ann's Emigration to Australia'. Shepherd Family Reunion Committee, 1993.
2. 'The Diary of Frederick Collins Dawson; 1841 - 1843'. Unpublished; in private hands.

Cawthorn Roman Military Complex

An Update by Graham Lee

Archaeological Conservation Officer North York Moors National Park

The monuments generally known as Cawthorn Camps (SE 784900) comprise a group of exceptionally well preserved Roman military earthworks which lie just within the southern boundary of the North York Moors National Park, in a strong defensive position on the northern scarp edge of the Tabular Hills. The complex is owned and managed by the National Park Authority (Lee, 1994).

The site has been widely referred to in archaeological literature since the publication of Richmond's excavation results and interpretation in 1932. The majority of the subsequent works have continued to accept his conclusions - namely that the earthworks represent practice camps constructed by legionaries on manoeuvres in the period AD 90-110. In the first occupation troops were supposed to have lived in Camp C whilst occupied with the construction of Camp A. After an interval of 'six to ten years' the site was re-occupied, the troops living in the enlarged Camp A/B while building Camp D (Richmond 1932, 77-8), Figures 1 and 2.

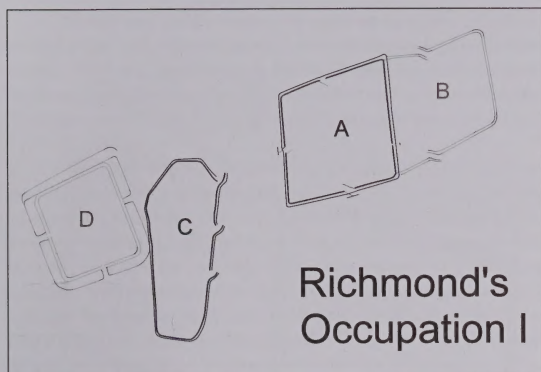


Fig. 1

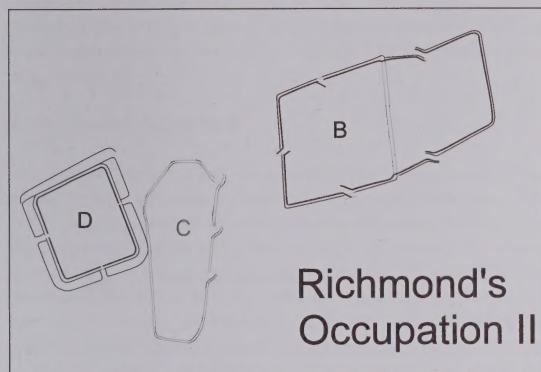


Fig. 2

This interpretation has now been largely discarded in the light of modern survey (Figure 3) and research by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (Welfare and Swan 1995, 137-42), who conclude that there is no overriding reason to consider the sites as practice works. For an important Roman complex long considered to be well understood it is now clear that much work still remains to be undertaken in order to produce a narrative which satisfactorily explains the available evidence. This short paper contains a number of observations and ideas which hopefully progress the debate, concentrating, like the RCHME, on the evidence of field archaeology and on the published excavation results. The historical context into which these remains may fit is not examined.

The name by which the site is generally known 'Cawthorn Camps' - is now regarded as a misnomer and anachronistic (H Welfare, Pers.Comm) since C is the only true camp of the group. Sites D and A are considered by Welfare and Swan to be forts, with B subsequently forming an annexe to Fort A.

Camp C

Camp C has long been regarded as the first Roman military presence on the site but its unusual form and particular location must contradict this. It is helpful to begin by summarising the main points made by Welfare and Swan: that there is no topographical reason for its polygonal form, suggested

to be due to earlier phases of activity which have not survived as earthworks, perhaps some predecessor in the same general position as Fort D; that each of the 3 known gates are evenly-spaced but all placed along the E side, facing towards Fort A; and that the northern defences lie 30 m from the escarpment edge, providing dead ground close to the camp which is described as an exceptional arrangement whether or not the camp was expecting hostile action.

These points are all capable of further development. A visit to the site quickly reveals that better strategic locations exist immediately to the NW of C - the site occupied by Fort D, which Richmond demonstrated was built later than C, with the SE angle of its outer ditch cutting through the ditch and rampart of the latter - and also 100 m to the NE where Fort A is located. The arrangement of all three main entrances in the E side is also peculiar. Richmond notes (1932, 22 n1) that the only known parallels come from siegeworks and that even then a gate is supplied in case of the necessity for retreat. Among all the known Roman Camps in England (Welfare and Swan 1995), the shape of Camp C together with its disposition and form of entrances make it quite unique. Only Milestone House in Northumberland (Ibid, 116-8) can match the degree of distortion, but in this case it is clearly due to topographical factors. The use of the single external clavicula to defend the gates is also remarkable, only matched by a single other known example at the south-west gate of Troutbeck 2, Cumbria (Ibid, 44-50) but where the matching internal clavicula appears to have been removed by cultivation. Logically this arrangement at Cawthorn will have been due to operational necessity, possibly explained by the restricted width of the camp and the further reduction in available space which internal claviculae would entail.

Welfare and Swan (Ibid, 140) also note gaps at the NW and SW angles of Camp C, stating that, although there is no direct evidence, it is possible that these may have served as additional entrances. The NW example, if original, would provide convenient access between the interiors of C and D. The SW gap, however, is clearly visible on O.G.S. Crawford's 1925 aerial photograph (Richmond 1932, Plate 18) as coinciding with the intersection of two well-worn tracks. Since the entire complex, with the exception of Fort D, was under coniferous plantation until the First World War, the SW gap and the associated tracks may thus relate to timber extraction. Richmond's general plan (1932, 18 Figure 1 - which appears to be derived from a Second Edition Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 scale map of circa 1910) would appear to support this interpretation since it shows modern tracks converging on the SW corner which is still portrayed as intact, whilst the NW gap is shown as already extant.

The relationship of Camp C with Fort D is discussed below but there is also a need to explain why the eastern side of the camp should follow the line selected. To present perception there is no reason why the eastern perimeter could not have been laid out further to the east. Even if Fort A was already in position, space exists in the gap between D and A for a camp covering the same area but with a conventional plan. Clearly Camp C was respecting an existing or planned constraint. From our present state of knowledge this could either be a route running roughly south from the defile (see below) which lies opposite the north-east corner of the camp or, potentially, the area to the east was being left clear for the construction of Fort A.

Because of the eastern orientation of the gates, Richmond noted that the close connection of Camp C with Fort A has always been assumed (1932, 39) and this does in fact make practical sense. Such an arrangement of gates would also make a direct relationship with D less likely. Time may show that one of Richmond's conclusions was broadly correct: that the builders and occupants of Camp C were somehow involved with activities at A. However, C is clearly a temporary camp although the duration of its use is currently unknown. Only further excavation may resolve these problems.



Fig. 3 Earthwork survey of Cawthorn

RCHME, © Crown Copyright.

It may also be relevant that the northernmost gate of C lies close to and faces a narrow defile which leads down the escarpment to the nearest source of water in the vicinity - a spring and beck some 400m to the north. Clearly whatever the purpose of the occupation a local water source would be important. Wells are unlikely as the local geology would have required excavation to a very considerable depth.

The layout of the entrances of Camp C, together with the strategic significance of dead ground to the north, would appear to suggest that hostile action was not expected, although an alternative explanation may also be possible - that C was protected on the west side by a pre-existing Roman military installation. This would help to explain both its less than perfect location and its unusual format - elongated but clearly truncated on the W and NW sides, the latter of which appears specifically designed to respect the lightly metalled track (Richmond 1932, 51, 21 Figure 3) which runs ENE from the eastern gate of Fort D to the defile. Richmond suggests that this track linked with another which runs west from the west gate of Fort A, also to the defile, and uses this as the link between A/B and the construction of D in his second occupation. Farrar, however, makes the point that there is no evidence that these two tracks are related.

Fort D

Fort D has previously been widely accepted as of the 'Hod Hill' type, suggested to be of late first century date, although the observations below suggest that it is less simple than it at first appears. Farrar considered that on the northern perimeter the defences of D showed evidence for two phases of construction, with the outer ditch a secondary addition. There is, however, no evidence to prevent the entire defences of D from being two phase. Richmond's report appears to support this and he himself states (1932, 70) that the inner ditch system was markedly different in character from the outer. The published section of the Eastern Inner Ditch South Sector (Ibid, 71 Figure 19) also appears to show two phases of construction, illustrated by a recutting and widening of the ditch. Such a two-phase development would allow the Phase One Fort D to be the pre-existing installation which constrained the layout of Camp C. Certainly the shape of D would be considered rather anomalous for a camp and a two phase fort is therefore thought more likely than a camp replaced by a fort on the same site (H Welfare, Pers.comm). When the Phase Two strengthening of the defences took place, the additional outer ditch then cut through the western perimeter of Camp C. The latter by then may not have been in use for a number of years, suggested by Richmond to equate with the six to ten years between the 'evacuation of Fort A' and the re-occupation of Fort A/B. Richmond reports (1932, 49) that, at the junction of D and C, the 'wash-down from C's turf rampart' had filled in the base channel and about a quarter of the ditch before the yellow sandy upcast from D's outer ditch was deposited therein.

The defences of Fort D were only examined by narrow sections cut through at three different locations, with neither the rampart or gates examined in detail. The results demonstrated a great lack of uniformity which Richmond interpreted as evidence that the site was unfinished but Farrar considered that insufficient excavation had been carried out to adequately demonstrate this.

The information recorded from the interiors of C and D provides practically no evidence to progress any arguments. The interior of C was not examined by Richmond (1932, 40), although he does mention pits and temporary erections of turf. Welfare and Swan note that their contemporaneity with the defences of the camp has not been demonstrated. D is even more enigmatic; the northern third of this fort is shown in aerial photographs of 1925 (1932, facing 69 plate 18) as under cultivation. Richmond put one cross-trench in the southern portion of the fort but this is reported as having revealed no trace of buildings (either wooden or stone) and no sign of occupation. One scrap of mortarium rim was recovered from the northern rampart. Simpson's preliminary report on the site summarises the results of a series of trenches excavated in 1908 (1926, 29-30). These examined the rampart, the road between the east and west gates, and a small paved area located near the centre of the fort. No fragment of pottery or any other finds of Roman date were recovered. Given the very limited extent of these early examinations these rather negative results may not surprise us too much although further work is clearly demanded.

Fort A and Annexe B

Turning to Fort A and the Annexe B, their characteristics and the reasons for their re-classification are clearly explained by Welfare and Swan (1995, 140-42), in particular the scale of the defences and the extensive use of timber recorded by Richmond. They also note that, although the eastern defences of Fort A were reduced, either when the first phase Fort was abandoned or when Annexe B was added, the rampart and ditch would still have presented a formidable obstacle. B thus seems to have functioned as an annexe rather than forming the eastern half of an enlarged 'camp' as envisaged by Richmond. Annexe B lacks an entrance in the eastern side and both the North and South gates are offset to the west, focusing the internal layout on Fort A (Welfare and Swan 1995, 141).

Fort A was the earthwork which received the greatest attention from Richmond. From his observations of a number of apparently incomplete or unfinished features he concluded that the first phase occupation of the site was short, thus supporting his theory that the earthworks were built as a training exercise by troops on manoeuvres. The majority of these features would benefit from re-examination. For example, Richmond noted that only one of the narrow stairways (ascensus) - at the east side of the South Gate - had apparently been completed in Phase One (1932, 31-2), while traverses across the gateways were either left unfinished (West Gate) or were infilled again (South and East Gates) without much silting taking place. Is it possible that the latter had been kept clean? How do such observations square with the information that the rock-cut ditch, over 2.1m deep and 4.5m wide, was completely finished and although only dug to half depth at the East Gate, where a band of harder rock was said to have been encountered, the regulation 'ankle-breaker'/cleaning channel had still been completed in the base?

Internal Features: Fort A/Annexe B

It is the treatment of a number of the internal features which particularly warrants further attention. Dug into the reduced phase two eastern rampart of Fort A, and also in the eastern sector of the interior, is a series of five rectangular pits which Richmond describes as officers' dug-outs (1932, 65-8 Figure 17, reproduced here as Figure 4). This interpretation appears to derive from the memories of trench warfare from 1914-18 and has little to do with

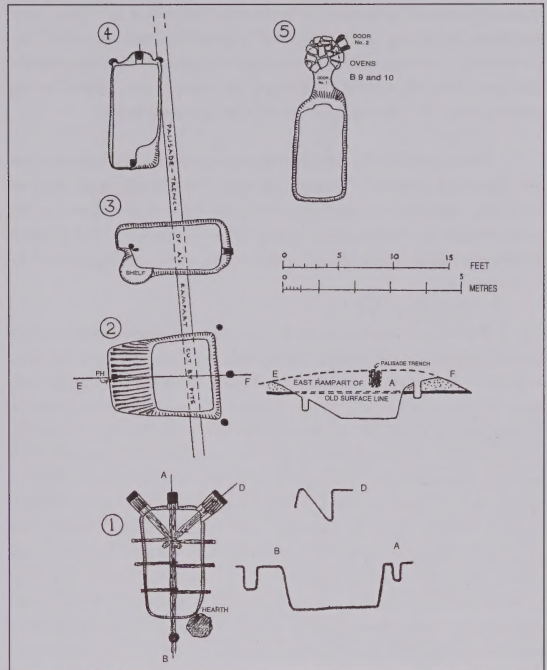


Fig. 4 Richmond's "Dug-Outs" of B-Period; Interpreted as sunken-feature buildings (Lee, 1998)

Roman archaeology. At least four of these structures appear to be sunken-featured buildings (s-fb), thought likely to be of Anglian date. Since such a group is unlikely to occur in isolation (D. Powlesland, Pers.comm; Gates & O'Brien 1988,8) this is potentially prime evidence for a significant post-Roman occupation of the site. This argument has recently been complicated by the discovery of sunken-featured structures dated to the mid-late second century AD at Monkton in Kent (Smoothy 1995, 370; Bennett and Williams 1997, 258-64) which are discussed further below. At Cawthorn, however, three of the s-fbs had been dug into the top of the reduced eastern rampart of Fort A, in a location which, although higher and better drained, is thought unlikely to be associated with a military occupation of the site. Of the two examples within the mid-eastern sector of the Fort, s-fb number 1 was recorded with a hearth close by one outer end of the pit. Near this location was found part of a red carinated bowl, further fragments of which were recovered from the bottom of the pit. The remains of this bowl were taken to prove the Roman date of the pit but these are not recorded or discussed in sufficient detail to satisfactorily determine whether this was the case or whether there was a reasonable chance that they could have been residual.

In terms of structure s-fbs numbers 1, 2 and 4 are all shown with post-holes at either end of, and roughly aligned on, the long axis - some within the cut of the pit, some external - together with an additional pair of post-holes, one at each corner, at one end of the pit. S-fb number 3 lacks these extra post-holes and is just shown with post-holes at either end, although rather skewed to the line of the long axis, seemingly to accommodate a truncated but approximately circular 'shelf' some three-quarters of a metre wide which occupies one corner of the pit adjacent to the post-hole. Richmond suggests that the purpose of this ledge was to form an entrance, and it is paralleled in s-fb 4 by one shown as roughly half a metre square. Their purpose is unclear and they are certainly very different in character to the steps or possible entrances belonging to the published examples at Dorchester and Sutton Courtenay (Rahtz 1976, 74 Figure 2.11). S-fb 5 is distinct again, showing no

traces of associated post-holes or beam slots, but with a two phase oven discovered on the long axis just over half a metre from the outer edge of the cut of the pit. The excavation involved, however, appears rather excessive for just some form of cooking hollow and the features may indeed not be contemporary. The dimensions of the s-fbs are discussed below.

Richmond notes that these five features were marked by depressions on the surface and states his confidence that they do not occur outside the zone described. However, an examination of Figure 3 and of the remains on the ground suggest that further examples may still await discovery. In any case it is considered unlikely that all such remains would necessarily be indicated by surface traces.

With this information in mind it is worth re-examining other internal features, notably the turf structures or mounds thought by Richmond to relate to tents or rough buildings (1932, 58-61 Figure 12). The only parallels with these are known in Southern Spain (Farrar) and a series of stone mounds at Masada in Israel (1932, 59). Richmond notes that many were examined before it was possible to secure a good example. He suggests that the lines of the turf structures were either too close together or far apart to form part of a building system and in particular records that 'everywhere post-holes or sleeper trenches failed to appear in connection with the turf mounds'. Welfare and Swan record these features as banks up to 0.6 m high and 2.5 m wide enclosing areas as small as 2 m across internally. They occur within Fort A and Camp C but the main concentration lie within Annexe B, particularly in the south-eastern sector where they appear to consist of a series of partially defined enclosures lying either side of a slightly sinuous, narrow (c. 2.5 m wide) track, aligned just south of west which runs through the centre of the group. Richmond suggested that their size and shape made it doubtful that they ever formed the walls of buildings, preferring to see them as wind-breaks (highly unlikely given their height) or as 'dams against wet'. Richmond's plan (1932, 59 Figure 12) also makes them appear far more regular and organised than they actually are. Welfare and Swan note evidence of some regularity of planning but point out that some of the turf structures seem to be laid out across internal lines of access to the North and South gates of the fort and 'thus not likely to be strictly contemporary' with the defences. They conclude that further investigation is required to clarify the date, functions and associations of all the features within Fort A and Annexe B.

Some further insight may be possible from Richmond's report of a pit, described as a cook-hole (1932, 61 Figure 14 and Facing 41 Plate XB), excavated within and apparently integral to one of the turf mound structures. This was located just SW of an undated low banked sub-rectangular enclosure which occupies most of the NE corner of Fort A. Richmond records a stone feature on the inside of the turf mound which was interpreted as the stone fire-back for a hearth but he failed to locate any associated post-holes. Close to this pit and within the area of the turf mound was found a group of 'characteristic Roman potsherds'. These are reported as the 'most important group of pottery which the site produced' but do not appear to be described elsewhere as claimed in the report, unless this is the group illustrated on page 76. Given the reported association of s-fb number 1 with Roman pottery, further work is required to clarify whether these pottery finds really were contemporary with the structures or represent residual material. From the available evidence the present author favours the latter view. The upper dimensions of this pit scale off from Richmond's plan as just over 3 m long by just over 1.5 m wide. This equates very closely with the dimensions of the s-fbs recorded to the south-east, some 55-75 m away, namely c.3.1 x 1.4 m, c.3.1 x 1.5 m, c.2.9 x 1.5 m, c.3.1 x 1.7 m and c.3 x 2.2 m. Rahtz (1976,75) records the average dimensions for s-fbs known at that time as 3 x 2 m and, although larger examples are obviously known, this fits well with the s-fbs at Cawthorn and also with the published example from the Anglian settlement at West

Heslerton (Powlesland 1986, 163-7 Figure 72). The excavators at West Heslerton (D Powlesland, Pers.comm) have also noted the possibility that a number of the s-fbs may have had turf-walls surrounding the pit (see also Rahtz 1976, 75-6, 79). This would enlarge the size of each building considerably and would have facilitated a higher, more gently sloping roof. Richmond's excavated example has a berm approximately 0.7 - 0.8 m wide between the edge of the pit and the inner edge of the turf mound. Examples of sunken-featured buildings without associated post-holes are also known from West Heslerton, although truncation by ploughing may explain some of these cases.

Another storage pit at Cawthorn, number B1 (1932,68, facing 76 plate XX), was actually excavated within the group of turf mounds in the SE sector of Annexe B, some 25 m NE of the South gate. No dimensions are given, however, and the only detail recorded is that it was supplied with a step. It may have thus resembled s-fbs 3 and 4 (Figure 4) but only re-excavation could now reveal this.

It is necessary at this stage to briefly discuss the remains recorded at Monkton (Bennett and Williams 1997, 258-64) since the sunken-featured structures excavated there have been confirmed as of second century Roman date. These are considered very similar to s-fbs and although a detailed comparison will not be possible until the results are more fully published in 1998 a number of points are worth examining. From the published illustrations many of the structures at Monkton appear more distinctly rectangular, and rather larger, than the s-fbs recorded at Cawthorn and the average dimensions cited above. The smallest examples from Monkton appear to measure approximately 5 x 3 and 4.5 x 3.5 m. The Monkton sunken-featured structures also have well-defined entrances with door-posts, post holes along the axis and steps down into the sunken area (P Bennett, Pers. comm) which do not appear to be commonly occurring features of s-fbs. It is worth noting, however, that the Monkton structures do appear to have possessed low turf walls. From the western end of the Roman settlement at Monkton, the find of a complete barbitone cup, dated to the mid-second century AD, from a possible shrine may suggest some form of link to the Rhineland. Indeed could these sunken remains at Monkton represent an early phase in the development of sunken-featured buildings? These questions and this discussion can only be satisfactorily continued after the publication of further information, particularly of Monkton and West Heslerton.

Other internal features which require further study are the ovens. Richmond notes that apart from some pits these are the only structures within Fort A which can be assigned to the first occupation (1932, 34-9). All other internal features, including the so-called tribunal, he attributes to his secondary 'B' phase. Richmond records a line of 3 ovens in the rear of the western rampart of Fort A which would have precluded the timber revetment to the rear of the rampart which he contends was a necessary component of this design, although evidence for such a revetment was only recorded in the SE sector of the Fort, between the South and East Gates. Richmond also records ovens in 'abnormal positions' (Ibid, 37) and, in one case, a 3-phase complex of ovens, none of which appeared to have been fired.

Additional Questions

In addition to resolving the above questions there are numerous other issues which warrant further attention, not least of which is the relationship between the military earthworks and the course of the Roman Road, known locally as "Wades Causeway". Richmond notes that the course of the road near the 'camps' is unknown, noting that it was clearly not an important highway, and summarizes past attempts to link the road to the military earthworks (1932, 18 Note 1, 19 Note 1, 20). Hayes and Rutter (1964) record

an inferred course of the road approaching Fort D from the SSW and SW; passing between the WSW and ENE gates of D the course is marked as almost certain but not proven. The course is then marked as certain running from the ENE gate of D, around the north side of Camp C and along to the WSW gate of Fort A. Farrar, above, however, identifies this latter unit as two potentially unrelated tracks. The northward continuation of the road is then marked as running down the escarpment via the defile opposite the northern gate of Camp C, again regarded as almost certain but unproven. Given the impossibility of taking any vehicles down this defile a more plausible route has been identified by the author approximately a kilometre to the SW of the earthworks where a farm track, cutting a switchback route down a gentler part of the escarpment, opens out into an enormous hollow-way. This runs NE, terminating at the foot of the escarpment just to the NNW of Fort D, although this latter section has been damaged by commercial forestry operations in recent years. A survey is required to investigate and record this route in detail.

Another item of interest is the so-called Portergate, a hollow-way suggested to be of medieval date which runs through the complex on an approximate WSW-ENE alignment. Running to the south of Fort D it first cuts through the perimeter of Camp C in the middle of the western side, exits through the central of the three eastern gateways and then traverses Fort A/Annex B, entering through the West Gate of A and then cutting diagonally across to exit from the NE corner of B. This hollow-way is unusual in that it is very narrow and steep sided (through Camp C it is recorded by Welfare and Swan as 3m wide at the top, 0.8m deep but only 1m wide at the base) with generally only a single course represented rather than the multiple braided series of channels which are far more common in this region. This may suggest that it was never used a great deal although the depth to which it has been eroded would appear to gainsay this. Richmond also records (1932, 18 Note 1) that Drake's plan of the earthworks (Eboracum, 1736, 36) shows the Portergate exiting Camp C at the NE angle. This would be at the obvious route through C to the defile which runs down the escarpment and probably explains the broken state of the Camp's perimeter in that location, in addition to the pre-existing pits encountered by Richmond (1932, 40).

A third topic is the small earthwork platform or enclosure (Figure 3, E) which lies some 50m SSW of the SW corner of Fort A and some 75m east of Camp C. This is approximately rectangular in shape, some 16 by 13.5 metres, the edge defined by a low bank between 3-5m wide. This is not discussed by Richmond and is shown variously as a 'tumulus' and 'Roman outwork' on early Ordnance Survey map editions. It has been noted by Vyner (B Vyner, Pers. Comm) to be very similar in form and plan to the remains of the Roman signal station on Bowes Moor (Welfare and Swan 1995, 57). If this interpretation proves to be correct, the location of a look-out tower so far (over 200m) from the edge of the escarpment appears to make little tactical sense unless it was sited to watch over the Tabular Hills to the sides and rear of the Forts, or was simply a practice construction?

Roman Defences

It is also useful to briefly consider the ways that aspects of the design and layout of the defences of the military earthworks contributed to their effectiveness.

In order to picture how the Forts may have originally appeared a visitor to the site today needs to be able to visualise the ramparts as somewhat higher and steeper than their present form, capped with a row of sharpened stakes (in the case of Camp C) or a palisade (Fort A), and the ditches deeper and steeper with a channel (or 'ankle-breaker') some 0.3m square in the base.

The gateways are further protected by entrance works, both claviculae

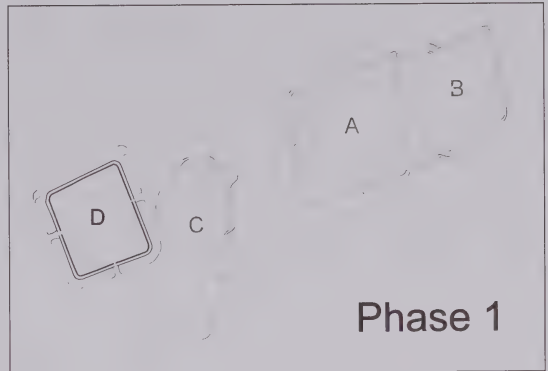


Fig. 5 Suggested Revised Phasing of the Roman Military Complex.

(best represented by the external claviculae at C) and traverses (first phase defences of A) which protect the gates from frontal assault. Claviculae force attackers to approach the entrance from the attackers' right-hand side, both drawing them in close to and along a stretch of rampart likely to be heavily defended while at the same time exposing their unshielded right-hand side to the Roman garrison. Clearly this was a situation where it paid to be left-handed so that one's shield would be carried on the right arm to cover that side. The traverses (see Figures 1 and 7) work in a similar fashion but allow access from both sides of the traverse into the entrance.

Also particularly noteworthy are the defensive ditches of Fort D which

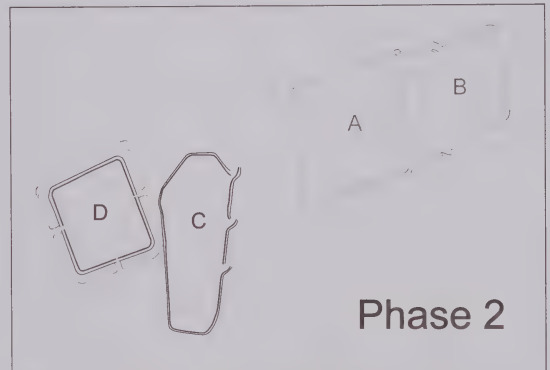


Fig. 6 Suggested Revised Phasing of the Roman Military Complex.

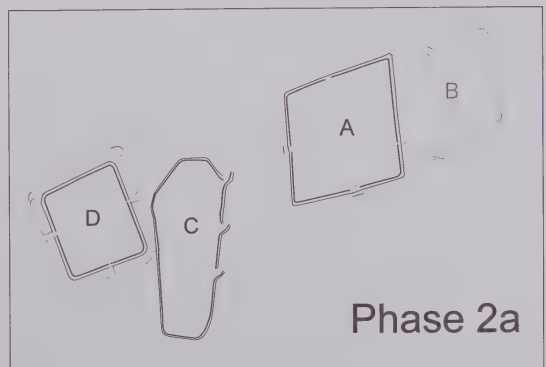


Fig. 7 Suggested Revised Phasing of the Roman Military Complex.

are Punic in form, where one side is sloped and the opposite nearly vertical. Generally constructed so that the near vertical face is away from, rather than under, the rampart this would serve to impede retreat, trapping an attacker in a classic 'killing ground'. The nature of this construction would not be visible to an attacker until they were right on top of the ditch, in a position where they were liable to have other things on their mind. In the second phase/occupation of Fort D (Figure 8) the Fort is defended by a pair of Punic ditches separated by an intermediate platform or 'ravelin' to further complicate retreat. It is very probable that the outer ditch was constructed so that the base would be visible to defenders manning the rampart/palisade walk to prevent attackers sheltering or hiding in that location.

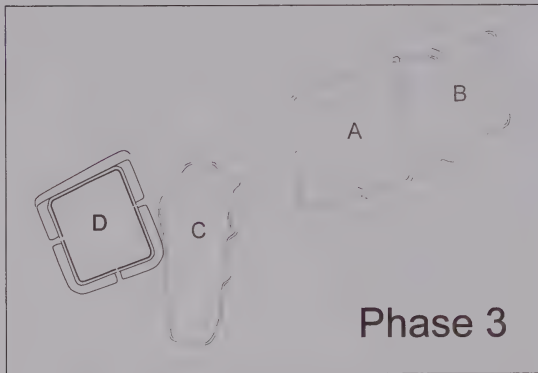


Fig. 8 Suggested Revised Phasing of the Roman Military Complex.

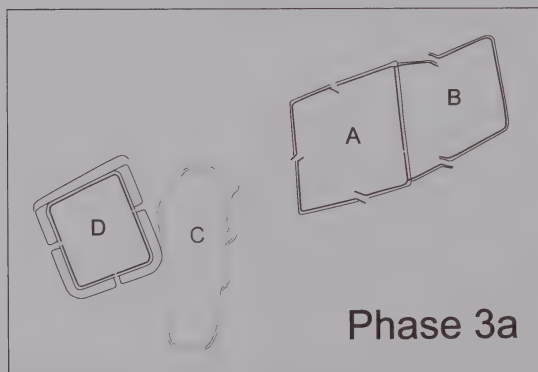


Fig. 9 Suggested Revised Phasing of the Roman Military Complex.

Conclusions

In light of the above observations, an attempt can now be made to revise the phasing of the Roman occupation at Cawthorn. It is still very uncertain where the first phase of Fort A fits into the sequence. However, on probability, the military occupation appears to be initiated by the first phase of Fort D, followed by Camp C, which may be associated with phase one of Fort A. This would be followed by phase two of Fort D (D2) and Fort A/B

although their relative dating is unknown, and may not be possible to determine (Figures 5 to 9). At the present time we only have Richmond's observations (1932, 47-50) from the evidence of the ditch sills that both the interval between C and D2 and between A and A/B was estimated at 6-10 years.

No evidence exists to prove that the Forts were simply practice works and the scale of the remains alone would tend to disprove this, although sufficient enigmatic issues remain to be resolved. Insufficient excavation has taken place at Fort D to allow a detailed analysis but again the scale of the surviving earthworks and the sequence of development suggested here make it unlikely that it was anything other than a true fort - whether the troops were actively engaged in warfare, a demonstration of strength, or on manoeuvres. Camp C has been discussed above. Fort A is clearly not a practice work given the evidence of the finely finished rock-cut ditch (Richmond 1932,22) and the extensive use of timber in the rampart. Even after the slighting of these defences at the end of the first occupation the ditch was still substantial enough during the secondary occupation of A/B to be left as found, the defences being strengthened with the sole addition of a new turf capping to the existing rampart.

With regard to the potential Anglian activity on the site, a great deal more work is required. Further investigation of the turf mounds and other earthwork remains within and around Fort A/B and Camp C is particularly important. In Annexe B the turf mounds appear far too irregular to plausibly relate to the layout of legionaries' tents or to have any other Roman military function and are considered far more likely to indicate post-Roman re-use of the site. Both complexes of the mounds in the north-east and south-east sectors of the Annexe are laid out on either side of, and were probably accessed from, linear features of limited width that resemble narrow irregular roads. Given the proximity to the sunken-feature buildings and a number of other pit-like features which may also be post-Roman, the present author would tentatively suggest that these earthworks may represent the first recognition of upstanding Anglian settlement remains. Clearly only further excavation can satisfactorily resolve this matter. Some of the earthworks in and around the Roman remains may prove in time to be of later medieval or even more modern origin but there is no actual evidence for later medieval use to explain the turf mounds. The nearest known medieval settlement lies a kilometre to the south-west of the Forts at Cawthorn where settlement has shrunk to a pair of farms. The Medieval Settlements Project of English Heritage's Monuments Protection Programme records no Anglian or other early medieval information pertaining to Cawthorn village (S. Wrathmell, Pers.comm), but any settlement shift in this direction would be to an area where water was more freely available. Anglian antecedents are anticipated for many of the medieval settlements in the Vale of Pickering but insufficient fieldwork has been carried out and to-date the only known examples are at West Heslerton (Powlesland 1986) and Wykeham (Moore 1965).

The military earthworks at Cawthorn were regarded as unique in 1932 (Richmond 1932, 78) and are virtually unrivalled even today. In time it may be possible to prove that the exceptional Roman remains are only part of the story that Cawthorn has to tell.

Acknowledgements

The author is very grateful to Humphrey Welfare, Dominic Powlesland and Blaise Vyner for their assistance and encouragement whilst this paper was in preparation. An earlier version of this paper appears in the forthcoming volume of the Archaeological Journal. Figure 4 is reproduced from the Archaeological Journal Volume 89 for 1932 by permission of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

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still flourishes and carries out its prescribed purpose of 'gathering together periodically for lectures and discussions on archaeological subjects'. It still collects and records data, but its task of acting as a watchdog over ancient monuments has to a large extent been taken over by the North York Moors National Park's archaeological conservation section. The interest in archaeology promoted in the 1950s has grown to a remarkable degree, and the general public is more aware of the immense fascination of the study of the past, the importance of its preservation where possible, and its careful recording.

Various means of extending the Society's work were tried: for five years in the 1970s a Field Work section operated with the object of encouraging active participation in archaeological undertakings, especially for younger members. Local observers were also appointed to keep watch in their own areas, reporting to a recorder any interesting finds. The Society took an active part in objecting to the Farndale Water Scheme whereby the upper dale would have been flooded behind a dam, and it provided guides to the work in progress at the Roman Villa south of Riccall Bridge (see review of the Excavation Report on page 24). In 1964 a group of members repaired damage to the aqueduct at Bonfield Ghyll built by the 18th century engineer, Joseph Foord, to carry water from the moors to the villages of Carlton, Nawton, and Wombledon. At the same time Theodore Nicholson worked unceasingly for the rescue of Spout House - the old Sun Inn - in Bilsdale, and it was largely due to his efforts that the National Park, finally, restored it and opened it to the public. More recently members of the Society have helped in the ongoing excavations at St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale, initiated by Professor Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts which are producing some important finds.

The early meetings of the Society were held in the Scout Hall, but in 1971 they were moved to the Town Hall. One recalls variable heating and some curious seating; plush cinema seats in groups of three left over from film showings during the war. By 1981 when the fall in numbers was causing anxiety, a further move was thought desirable: after consideration this was made to the consistent warmth and comfort of the North York Moors National Park Committee room.

Over the years the Society has had a splendid series of lectures covering various aspects of archaeological excavations and study, and some perhaps more historical than archaeological. It is remarkable that, throughout its 45 years, there has never been a lack of interesting lecture subjects, or of experts willing to come and speak to a small society on important discoveries. The coach excursions originally arranged gradually declined in popularity with members, but summer outings - often to the sites referred to in lectures, or of local and national importance - have continued as part of the Society's programme. Many members must remember the walks led by Raymond Hayes to some of his own discoveries, on which fleetness of foot and agility were needed if one was not to miss the vital information tossed behind him, but where the achievement was well worth the effort.

The 'History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District' has remained the ultimate source of information about the town and its surroundings; edited by John McDonnell it appeared in 1963; copies nowadays are rare, and increasingly valuable, as anyone fortunate enough to find one will discover. As it was felt an ongoing publication covering more of Ryedale, and different topics, would be useful, the *Ryedale Historian* made its first appearance in 1965 and continued every two years thereafter.

Membership fell to its lowest point of 44 in early 1980s, a difficult period. The possibility of dissolution had to be considered but was rejected; the venue was changed; the subscription raised; measures were taken to advertise the Society more effectively and, after two or three anxious years, membership numbers started to rise and have continued at a satisfactory level.

Helmsley and District Archaeological Society brought up to date.

by Jean M. Storrow

The Helmsley and District Archaeological Society was launched with great enthusiasm in 1952; however, as any organisation finds, it can be difficult to maintain that enthusiasm when the original members retire and the initial impetus wanes. The Society did not escape this lessening of general enthusiasm, but it is a tribute to a succession of determined individuals that it

A constant influx of new members is, of course, essential, and the promotion of the Society in every way must be the task of all concerned for its well being.

It is impossible to list all the dedicated people who have supported the Society in their different ways and without whose contributions it would not have survived so long; three, however, should be mentioned. Until increasing deafness and ill-health prevented him, Raymond Hayes was a regular attendee at meetings to which he brought his intimate knowledge of archaeology in Ryedale; as told above, he gave willingly of his time to lead site visits, and entertained members with fascinating accounts of his own discoveries when, for any reason, the evening's lecturer failed to appear. For nearly twenty years John Collier was projectionist for all the lectures; he carried his own equipment to and from the meetings and coped miraculously with the vagaries of visiting speakers' slides. He had a wonderful collection of photographs of old Helmsley which he would show on special occasions - this was greatly appreciated. The Society owed much to his loyal support. Mention must also be made of the Society's recent secretary, Mrs Gertrude Fontaine, who attended committee meetings, took minutes, arranged speakers, and kept the Society in working order for sixteen years. To her, and all who have worked for the Society over the years it must be exceedingly grateful.

The excavation and study of the hidden treasures of the land are sources of perpetual interest, and as long as this is the case there will be a place for such groups as the Helmsley and District Archaeological Society and the members who give their time and effort to support them.

Salton: A Shrunk Village

By John McDonnell

In recent decades much study has been devoted by field archaeologists to 'DMVs' (deserted medieval villages) like Wharram Percy. Less dramatic and plainly more difficult to map and elucidate are the many settlements which, over the centuries, have contracted, warped, part-migrated, or even changed their main axis, as a result of depopulation through enclosure, plague, or loss of function.

Salton (SE708800) in the fen-like alluvial basin of Lower Ryedale, just above the confluence of the Rivers Dove and Rye, is now a small village of less than 20 households, excluding half a dozen outlying farms. As is immediately clear from air-photos (Plate 1), it was once considerably larger. A double row of house-plots extended eastwards from the triangular modern green on both sides of the sike which runs down towards the Dove, and with a further stretch of green between the rows. The regularity of these tofts and crofts, particularly on the north side of the sike, may indicate a planned layout.

SALTON AND HEXHAM

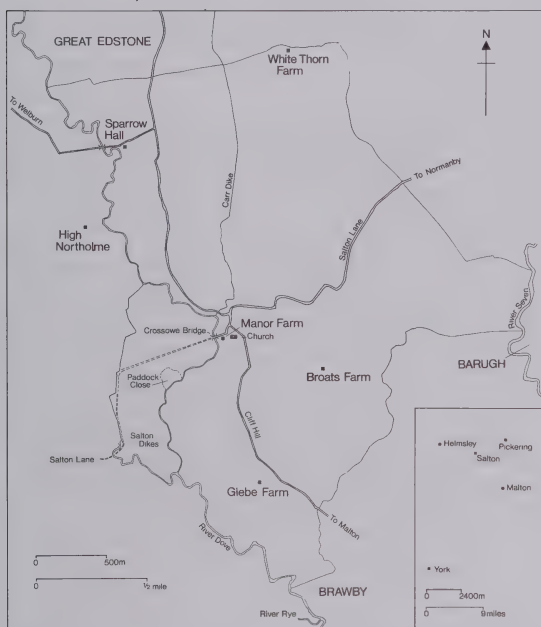
Salton (Willow settlement) figures in Domesday Book. Before the Conquest Ulf owned two manors here, with nine carucates (ploughlands) of arable. Ulf bestowed the property on the Archbishop of York, and early in the twelfth century Archbishop Thurstan gave the manors of Salton, Brawby and part of Edstone to the Priors of Hexham as a prebendary residence in their capacity as canons of York Minster. This function entailed periodic journeys between



Plate 1 The abandoned house-platforms lie to the north-east of the Church. Crossowe Bridge is in the shadowed lower left corner - Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. © Crown Copyright

Hexham on the Tyne, and York. So the Priors established a fitting manorial residence for themselves, the remains of which lie under, and are possibly embedded in, the rambling Salton Manor Farm at the south-west corner of the village, close by Crossowe Bridge over the Dove.

This bridge, now simply providing access for the farmer to his land on the west side of the river, was once more important in the pattern of Salton's communications. Its name suggests that originally a waymarking cross stood by it, and the stretch of bridleway running west from it to East Ness is still marked as 'Salton Lane' on ordnance maps. Thus, Salton is basically a crossroads village, where this east-west route meets the main north-west to



Salton

Drawn by Miranda Schofield

south-east road coming from Welburn through Salton and Brawby towards Malton. This latter route, linking up with the old Roman road-line from York to Cawthorn Camps is unlikely to have varied much over the centuries, especially in the flood-prone lowlands of Ryedale. Along it the Prior's party would travel, weather permitting, from a stopover on Priory property at Great Broughton (Cleveland), directly over the moors between Bilsdale and Bransdale to Welburn. In winter they would have to go a longer way round via Thirsk and Coxwold. The approach to Salton would then be from the west through East Ness and along Salton Lane. From Salton Manor the Prior would have a final leg of some twenty miles to the Chapter House at York.

SALTON IN 1479

There was never any permanent presence of Hexham canons in Salton, but the Priors in fact established two residential halls or messuages in the parish for their periodic visits. A detailed survey and rent-roll for the parish⁽¹⁾ for 1479 reveals that besides the manor hall by Crossowe Bridge, there was also a 'gest hall', described as being in the north of the parish. This could be Sparrow Hall (SE704812) or possibly High Northholme, on the other bank of the Dove across from Sparrow Hall (and now in a separate civil parish), or conceivably the less accessible White Thorn Farm (SE720821). It has not been possible to carry out detailed field work on these sites.

The Manor Hall then comprised: 3 chambers, chapel, kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse, large stable, apple orchard (pomerium), and a garden called 'le ben-garth'.

The Guest Hall included: a chamber at one end, gate-house, large barn, cowhouse (boscarium), pigsty, another bean-garth, and a newly built kiln (tordo).

The Manor Hall was presumably still in occasional use by the Prior, though a Visitation only six years earlier⁽²⁾ describes it as 'very ruinous'. The Guest Hall was in the hands of a lessee (firmarius), William de Daventre, who evidently acted as steward for the canons. He rented all the demesne lands (those strips in the common fields which were not let out to husbandmen), and paid the considerable sum of 33 shillings, plus quite large quantities of wheat, maslin, rye and oats. In 1473 the firmarius had been a William Smyth. The Prior also reserved for his own use the south end of the 'great barn' of the guest hall 'to store his tithes at harvest time', along with six acres of meadow in 'Weste-rig' for grazing for his horses.

The nine carucates of arable noted in Domesday Book are presented in much greater detail in the 1479 survey, complete with estimates of individual holdings and the names of the tenants. The amount of land under the plough seems to have expanded: there are 16 bovates (8 bovates to the carucate) of demesne land, and 73 bovates of 'bond-land'. The reckoning is not altogether straightforward, however. The terms bovaté (or oxgang) and carucate are based on the amount of land oxen could plough, but they were never true measured acres, but rather fiscal notions. A peasant farmer working one bovaté, would, in theory, contribute one beast to the full plough-team of eight. By the late fifteenth century the system was somewhat fossilized. Even the term 'bond-land', going back to an earlier system of unfree villeins, was no longer accurate, William de Daventre held only demesne land, but the vicar, Dom Peter, farmed two bond bovates, and the tenants worked both bond and demesne bovates indiscriminately.

The tenant roll is divided into two categories. Eighteen 'bond tenants' worked holdings of between one and five bovates, while 17 cottagers paid modest cash rents for their tofts, with an entitlement to share 2' bovates of arable between them. They also paid rent in kind, owing 4 hens and 20 eggs at Easter. While most of these cottagers were probably day-labourers, they also included some specialists - haywards, carters, herdsman, no doubt a blacksmith, and one John Moris who held the common oven and some grazing.

The bovaté holders also paid cash rents (an average four shillings per bovaté), and owed services to the Prior, principally in cartage of victuals, timber, and millstones for the mill, anywhere in Yorkshire. They also had to provide 'decent' beds for the Prior and his entourage. By way of democratic rights and duties, they elected the bailiff, reeves, ale-graves and water-graves, and four jurors for the manor court, which also included Brawby and Edstone. One tenant entry deserves particular notice: a cottager, John Kereby, paid 3/6 for his toft and 3' acres of land, and a further 4/- for 'virgas next the banks of the Dove, called les Spechyns'. One of various meanings of virga is 'wand', and taken in conjunction with the local name 'spechyns' (place of dry twigs), it seems beyond doubt that Kereby was farming the osier beds along whatever flood banks were then maintained by the water-graves to protect against the sudden spates to which Rye, Dove and Seven were subject. There is no known evidence for the uses to which the willows were put - basket-weaving, for example, or hurdle-making - but they clearly provided a useful cash crop, and the trimmings doubtless fuelled Moris's oven.

The overall picture which emerges of Salton in 1479 is of a compact and reasonably flourishing community of some 35 households. But there are

also signs that the village was beginning to decline from an earlier peak. The survey notes that there were 19 disused cottage plots now given over to grazing, and three wholly abandoned. Three bovates of tenant arable were also 'in the Lord's hand' and unworked. There were some signs of piecemeal enclosure of parcels of the common fields (North, West, South and Mill Fields) in the presence of such names as Haukescroft, Woodlibusk, Wildirland, Bradetofts, Stoureland and Adescroft.

It seems likely, then, that at some earlier stage (probably before the Black Death), the population may have been as high as fifty households. However, the only other positive record we have⁽³⁾, a briefer survey of the twelfth century, lists a population of 20 husbandmen and 10 Gresmanni (smallholders).

SALTON MILL

Nobody we talked to in Salton realised there had ever been a water-mill there. The documentary evidence of 1479 shows that it was then in full operation, with the miller, John de Stable, paying the sizeable sum of £4.6.8 (more than twice the rent of William de Daventre, the firmarius) for his lease, as well as standard charges for 3 bovates of arable. The name Mill Field survives on estate plans accompanying the sale catalogue of 1835, when the property was sold following the death of the last of the Dowker family. This field covered the area to the south-west of Crossowe Bridge, as far as the (civil) parish boundary with Northholme. No trace of the mill building survives, but the site of the mill pond is clear enough. An oddly oval field boundary lies on the west bank of the Dove at SE711797. On the 1835 estate plan, this oval is shaded in as glebe land, along with much of what is now Glebe Farm on the other side of the river. North from the oval a silted-up ditch and hedgeline can be traced upstream to a point halfway to High Northholme Farm, where the head-lead to the mill-pond would have been taken off the Dove. Traces of masonry on the north-west curve of the oval, where the head-lead entered the pond, are probably the remains of the sluice controlling the flow of water into the pond. The mill itself would have stood above the river bank on the south-east segment of the oval pond, and we can probably assume that it was washed away in one of the rampaging floods which punctuated the eighteenth century, or even earlier, and was never rebuilt.

The last known reference to the mill occurs in a manor court roll of 1577, when the miller of the day was ordered to 'keep the mill well...on pain of forfeiture'.⁽⁴⁾

AFTER THE MIDDLE AGES

The dissolution of the monasteries put an end to the ecclesiastical lordship of Hexham. The manor, with a value of £24, passed to the Crown, and in 1545 was granted to Lord Eure. The Eure family, of Malton, held it until 1624, when debt forced its sale to a London alderman; his great niece subsequently married the Earl of Salisbury in 1683. The Cecils held it until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was sold to J. Dowker. His heir sold it in turn to John Woodall in 1837.

The significance of this chain of disposals lies in the fact that for some 250 years the owners were absentee, or at least remote, landlords, as indeed the Priors of Hexham had been. It is no surprise then, that the salient development of the period, the enclosure of the common fields, is ill-documented. No enclosure award seems to exist (as is not uncommon before the days of parliamentary enclosure), and the probability is that the Eures, who were mostly Catholic recusants, and therefore constantly subject to heavy fines, saw the break-up of the open fields, and the sale of the land as ring-fenced individual farms, as a handy way of raising money. The result, as usual, was the impoverishment of the less prosperous villagers who could not afford to

bid for the new compact farms, and a steady diminution of those who could eke a living as labourers.

Other signs of decline precede the departure of Hexham from the scene. In 1473, six years before the great survey of 1479, when William Smyth held the 'farm' of the demesne, an ecclesiastical visitation⁽⁵⁾ reported that the manor house was ruinous and the roof of the nave in the Church and its chancel were in disrepair. We may surmise that the Priors visited less frequently, and had largely lost interest in the manor except as a source of revenue from the tithes that were yearly gathered into the great barn of the guest hall. The visitors' report also complained of 'unseemly' (deshonestos) games being played in the churchyard, including football, handball, and wrestling. This charge was repeated in 1519, when the deplored games were, intriguingly, listed as 'tuttet et handball ac Pennyston'.

By 1513, on the eve of the Dissolution and Reformation, the main lessee was none other than the Vicar of Salton, William Cowper, the inventory of whose will⁽⁶⁾ shows that, like Smyth and Daventre before him, he held the demesne land and a 'hall' and paid 46/8 for his lease.

Terriers in the Borthwick Institute, York, from 1716, supply more evidence of enclosures. Northholme was a separate farm by 1621, Sparrow Hall by 1661, Little Edstone, part of the Salton prebend, was enclosed before the end of the sixteenth century, and quite probably Salton itself underwent the same process at that time. A clue to the exact date may be in the manor court rolls⁽⁷⁾ for 1577 and 1582. The earlier roll lists three free tenants (one of them the Earl of Huntingdon) with holdings in the manor, and 20 'tenants by demise and at will' - the husbandmen of earlier lists. Brawby in that same year, 1577, had 19 tenants at will. Five years later the court roll lists no free tenants and only 4 tenants at will while Brawby still had 19.

Certainly by 1607, Quarter Sessions Records (Thirsk) describe Salton as 'pitifully depopulated. by the late Lord Eure about 24 years since' which would take us back almost exactly to 1582. Incomplete entries in the parish registers also suggest that the number of baptisms fell by up to half in the last two decades of the sixteenth century.

By 1673 the Hearth Tax returns for Salton and Brawby (not differentiated)⁽⁹⁾ show 39 dwellings in all. Four were 'discharged' (exempt), 30 were one-hearth cottages; three farms had two hearths each, one had three, and one (presumably Manor Farm) had five.

PARISH CHURCH AND PARSON'S GLEBE

The history of Salton church is ably set out in the Church pamphlet by Mrs Lester, and needs no elucidation here. The uncommon dedication to St. John of Beverley marks another link with Hexham since St. John was Bishop of Hexham from 687 to 705. Incidentally, in the course of his incumbency he ordained the Venerable Bede.

One or two of the secular priests who served the parish through the Middle Ages have been mentioned. A brief look at the resources they had to live on is useful here. Under the old common field system of cultivation, the parson was allotted strips in each field, often adjacent to those of the lord of the manor, which the plough teams worked alongside their own strips. The parson's share was known as the glebe, and along with his fees for church functions (including the dead man's second best beast after funerals) and the tithes - one tenth of the tenant farmers' produce - it supplied the parish income.

In Salton the tithes were commuted early into cash or kind payments; there are no tithe awards for the parish, while next door in Brawby only the tithe on hay survived into modern times.

With enclosure the scattered strips of glebe-land were consolidated into one compact block in the south of the parish, now Glebe Farm. It includes, incidentally, the 'Brick Field', now a plantation north of Glebe Farm, which provided the building material for much of modern Salton. The 1835 sale catalogue shows the farm shaded in, and with an interesting little outlier over on the west bank of the Dove. This is named as 'Paddock Close', 2' acres, and it is none other than the old mill-pond, which had been allocated to the vicar in its subsidiary role as vivarium, or fishpond - a common dual function of mill-ponds. The vicar already held the vivarium in 1479, for a rent of two shillings, and this perquisite was doubtless carried on and integrated in due course with the new glebe allocation.

Thus the innocent sounding Paddock Close is just one of various significant survivals from Salton's past, along with the empty house-plots revealed by air photography, the strongly marked ridge-and-furrow on Cliff Hill, and the fabric of Crossowe Bridge, that once essential link in Salton's



Plate 2 Crossowe Bridge. The stone piers are probably original and medieval. The brick upper structure is evidence of the force of past floods - Photograph by M.R. Allison

communications. The present structure of the bridge (Plate 2) with its well worked sandstone abutments and cutwaters topped with modern brick arches (perhaps also the produce of the Brick Field) is a salutary reminder of the perpetual need to control and repair the ravages of floodwater careering down from the Moors to the north.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due above all to Mrs. M.R. Allison who has done the great bulk of the fieldwork and documentary research. Valuable information and advice also came from; B.J.D. Harrison, G.E. Morris, Professor P.A. Rahtz, J.H. Rushton, Messrs. Bentley and Nicholson in Salton, and Linda Smith, archaeologist in the Heritage Unit at County Hall, Northallerton, who provided the air photo and other useful data. The air photo is reproduced by permission of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (Crown copyright; date of photo 2 April 1980).

FOOTNOTES

1. *The Priory of Hexham*, ed., J.A. Raine, Surtees Society, Vols 44, 46 (1864-65) Vol. II pp 72-76.
2. Raine, op. cit., II, p 159.
3. *Ibid.* pp 83-4.
4. North Yorkshire County Record Office, manor court rolls, microfilm 3205.

5. Raine, op. cit., II, p 155.

6. Borthwick Institute, York, Wills (Ryedale Deanery) 12 August 1531.

7. As for footnote 4.

8. *North Riding Quarter Sessions*, ed., J.C. Atkinson, North Riding Record Society, Vol I, 1884.

9. North Yorkshire County Record Office, Salton parish registers, transcript.

10. Hearth Tax microfilm, kindly lent by B.J.D. Harrison.

GHOSTS AT KIRKDALE

This paper by Philip Rahtz discusses supernatural associations with St. Gregory's Minster at Kirkdale. These include local sayings and experiences and in particular a photograph taken in 1974.

The Rev. John M. Warden, the incumbent of the church, contributes a Foreword:-

Generations of young people in our parish have been brought up on stories of the haunted church. The 'Green Lady', in particular, has been a special favourite. The more susceptible have not ventured there after dark and on midnight hikes in Kirkdale Woods with youngsters, I have always had to give St. Gregory's Minster a wide berth.

I have always maintained, however, that the figures from the past have been benign. The only sinister ones have been present-day robbers and vandals.

These strange figures kneeling at the altar, which were captured on film in 1974, have perplexed me ever since I came across the photograph of them in the Church safe. Perhaps we shall never find a satisfactory explanation, but I am grateful to Philip Rahtz for presenting the evidence.

Philip Rahtz writes:-

Paranormal experiences are not part of the mainstream of archaeology or history, and are seldom of value when no more than anecdotal. Details of them are however, part of the wider study of folklore. In this context they are of academic interest in two ways.

Firstly anecdotes may, like oral history, reflect some element of a real past, albeit transmitted subjectively and fragmentarily. Such tales may be related to a particular building, place, or area; or to an entire continent, as in the case of the Australian Dreaming. In archaeology they are frequently cited as transmitted memories of (for instance) what was put into a rich grave; or what was regarded through centuries or millennia as the iconic importance of a particular land-form, earthwork or stone monument; or as oft-repeated experiences, such as the soldiers marching along the Roman road under Chapter House Lane, in York: appropriately truncated, since the ground level has risen since Roman times. Ghost-tours in York are now a commercial enterprise! Some people have been fortunate enough - or otherwise - to have had paranormal experiences while excavating ancient sites, such as Frederick Bligh Bond at Glastonbury; he was assisted in his work and interpretation by a medieval monk through the medium of automatic writing.

Secondly, such anecdotes are valuable as data for social historians, illuminating large tracts of personal and public perception, about past, present and future. There has always been a massive credulity concerning spirits, 'happenings', and manifestations, culminating in our own day in the widespread belief in alien visitations and abductions.

Although there is now a chair of paranormal studies at the University of Edinburgh, belief in the supernatural is soundly attacked by rational scientists, such as Richard Dawkins in our own day, sceptical of any claims that they have any element of objective reality. Such experiences are nevertheless significant in our understanding of both present and past societies. While scepticism may be entirely justified when such material contradicts basic tenets of science, scientists are on shakier ground in dismissing all paranormal experiences as merely the expression of a vivid imagination. It may well be that today's paranormal experience is tomorrow's scientific fact. The existence of telepathy is, for instance, widely experienced and described, even by otherwise rational people; and may ultimately be explained in the same manner as the remarkable communication between animals of the same species.

This is true also of ghosts. So many people have seen, heard or felt ghosts (the latter as a cold, damp draught!) that they are, and will remain, subjects for scientific speculation if not enquiry. Many, if not the majority of ghostly 'sightings', can be explained away as frauds, such as those of Miss Moberly and Miss Jourdain in the garden of Le Petit Trianon at Versailles, in the 1920s. These were half-believed in by many educated people, until they were exposed as fraudulent decades later.

The problem with ghosts is that details of them are usually hearsay. Belief in their reality is dependent on a personal experience, which then becomes a story. In the case of Kirkdale, there are several of these; but exceptionally we have one which is supported by physical 'evidence', that of a photograph, the principal subject of this article.

St. Gregory's Minster and its locality are widely perceived as numinous: that is to say that the place inspires feelings of appreciation of

natural and man-made beauty. The 'atmosphere', to be more subjective, is felt strongly, notably when a chill descends into the river-valley and churchyard at the end of a winter afternoon. Such perceptions are doubtless assisted by Kirkdale's human antiquity of at least twelve centuries, and possibly much longer; by its isolation and absence of human habitations; and by the fame of its bone cave and Anglo-Saxon church.

In the course of our archaeological and historical work at Kirkdale, we have been told of strange 'happenings' in the church area, vouched for by Edward and Gwen Wood of Starfits Farm; the Woods have farmed the area for three generations. More specifically they, and Bert Puffett of Pockley, recount a tradition that earlier in this century, there was a 'Green Lady', a female figure dressed in green, who was periodically seen around the church; she 'was very attractive and had long red hair'.

The principal ghost was first recorded in 1974 in a photograph. A copy of this and correspondence of the 1970s relating to it, is preserved in the archive of Kirkdale Vicarage, now in the care of the Rev. John Warden; to him we are indebted for access to this file, and permission to quote from its contents.

We should also like to thank Father Anselm Cramer, OSB, of Ampleforth Abbey, for identification of the correspondents.

The photographer was Colin Hardy of Middlesborough, a casual visitor, in the summer of 1974. His view is of the interior of the east end of St. Gregory's Minster, from some point in the central nave aisle. To judge from the direction of the sunlight shining through the south windows, the time was around the middle of the day. There was apparently no-one else in the church at the time. Presumably Mr Hardy was mainly concerned with getting a picture of the altar and three-light window, with the reredos and communion rail area.



The Kirkdale 'Ghost' 1975

Kirkdale Church Archive

On developing the film and making a print, he was surprised to see that, apart from the church detail, there was a figure in front of the altar, and also images of what looked like boots and legs, below or to the west of the communion rail (letter from Smith to Father Robert 3.6.75 - see below). He sent a print to the Dorman Museum at Middlesbrough; there it was received by C.E. Thornton.

Hardy was, it seems, puzzled by the features in the photograph, and was seeking an explanation. Thornton evidently considered that this enquiry was not quite in the line of the Museum's interest; in February 1975 he sent the photograph to the late Col. Colin Mackenzie Smith, then of Manor Farm, Wombledon; Smith was at that time a churchwarden of St. Gregory's Minster.

The photograph aroused much interest in the area when Smith showed it to selected persons (letter from him to Thornton 18th February 1975). Smith also wrote to Hardy on the same date, with some phrases indicating what he thought:

".... the ghost at the altar three ghostly boots certain historians in the area are very anxious to examine the photograph - the Prior of Ampleforth is one - with a view to determining the Order to which the ghostly Monk belonged, and if possible his date, and also the three boots, the two left hand of which appear to me to be of the 17th century period I wonder if you have considered returning to the Church and taking another photograph on the same date and at the same time this year to see if there are similar manifestations?"

On 3rd June, Smith sent a copy of the photograph to the late Father Robert Coverdale, OSB, Procurator of the Abbey at Ampleforth at that time; the accompanying letter elaborated Smith's thoughts:

".... we originally thought that the figure at the altar was kneeling and facing North-East. A further examination has shown that it is a taller figure wearing a biretta facing South. You will see how the biretta obscures the lower half of the altar cross. He appears to be wearing a high collar behind, and a chasuble and (there are) three boots this side of the altar rails"

Father Coverdale passed this to the Prior, the late Very Reverend Father Anthony Ainscough, OSB, who commented:

".... with the aid of a strong glass, the main and central figure, wearing biretta, stands out quite distinctly, and little imagination enables one to pick out the right ear of the three boots, the one on the left 'belongs' to a distinct leg, the knee of which is on a level with the base of the altar rail. The other, left leg, is equally clear but only as far up as the calf. Perhaps the third foot is no more than the base of a candlestick with three feet, one of which is hidden But there are two other points of interest. Does the cross on the altar bear a figure on it? The photograph reveals a figure with the inscription above it. And the other feature of note concerns the above mentioned legs. Are they of a female because of no trousers or are they legs with stockings and knee breeches? The latter I suspect. I gather birettas did not come into fashion until after the Reformation"

Smith also sent a letter to Richard Deramore, of Heslington House, Aislaby, who replied (18th June 1975):

".... the Kirkdale Ghost If it is a fake (but I think not) it is incredibly subtle, and there seems no reason to suppose it is a straightforward double exposure. Where would Mr. Hardy have taken a previous photograph of two or three priests free of any surroundings and indeed incomplete in 'themselves'?"

- perceptive observations with which we are in agreement!

There are finally in the Kirkdale Vicarage file copies of two further letters. The first is from the late Thomas Charles Edwards, then Head of History at Ampleforth College, writing to Mrs. Fiona Gray, at that time of Caim House, Ampleforth (27 June 1975). He elaborated on the biretta:

"The square cap with three ridges, now commonly worn by our clerics, appears to have developed from an attempt to prevent the clergy (when indoors or on state occasions) presuming to appear with their heads covered before their superiors. So originally it was a distinction reserved for a privileged few. For this the 'sublime and literate persons', the doctors of the universities, were qualified (c 1320).

Its shape has altered. At first it was a kind of skull-cap, easily indented by the fingers, hence the present three peaks.

The privilege of some such head-dress was extended in the course of the sixteenth century to the lower grades of clergy, with the distinction of colour - red (cardinals), purple (bishops). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the shape was much modified, into the present shape. It is worth remembering that the 'mortar-board' and the biretta have developed from the same originals along different lines.

Generally speaking, the biretta is worn in processions and when seated. Also when the priest is performing any act of jurisdiction e.g. reconciling a convert. It used to be the rule that he wore it when giving absolution in confession. It is probable that the custom which requires an English judge to put on 'the black cap' when pronouncing sentence of death has the same origin.

The second is a postcard from Mrs. Fiona Gray to Smith (1 July 1975). She adds suggestions (apparently from Charles Edwards) that the figure is a priest sitting not kneeling, and the boots resemble those worn by Cavaliers or Roundheads.

The photograph in the file is a print, c 23 x 20cm. It shows in the foreground the lectern, and inner sides of the pews as they are today, with two staffs; and the stone floor and two steps leading up to the sanctuary. In the middle distance on the upper step is the communion rail with carved open-work panels. The ghostly boots/legs appear in front of this, 'standing' on the stone floor just west of the step. It is however, difficult with this kind of additional image to speak of it being 'in front of' something else - the relative apparent planes may not be meaningful.

The same may apply to the ghostly figure. This appears to be 'beyond' the boots/legs, and 'in front of' the altar, but this may be misleading; the figure could be in the same plane as the boots/legs; it does however obscure the altar; but this may be due merely to the additional image being different in tone, and thereby appearing to be 'in front'. The altar as seen in 1974 has a ribbed wooden frontal, with heavy vertical ribs; there is a 'white altar cloth on its surface and draped a third of the way down the front. Nowadays the frontal of the altar is covered with a pale green embroidered cloth.

The figure, as indicated by the correspondence quoted above, is susceptible of different interpretations. It does appear to have headgear of an archaic mode, and an ample robe, with a girdle, descending to the feet. The latter are indistinct, but appear to be at the same level as the floor. It is not clear in which direction the figure is facing; whether it is sitting, kneeling or standing; whether it is male or female. If the figure was by the altar, its relative height would suggest that it was kneeling, and facing to the left ('north'); perhaps with the hands folded, and with the robe bulging, like a bustle, to the right. The image is not distinct enough to be sure of detail; the photograph is not itself of a high quality; it would appear to be a considerable enlargement from a small (50 x 50mm or 90 x 60mm?) monochrome negative.

We would support Smith's views in the letter to Deramore quoted above. While a double exposure is the obvious explanation for the additional image, this would imply either that the film as a whole had been through a camera twice (in which case Hardy would have seen images on the other

frames, or between them); or that the additional image was taken before or after the Kirkdale exposure, but that the camera had not been wound on between the two. In either case it would imply that Hardy would have photographed a scene of two or three ancient 'clerical figures, or a picture of such a scene, in which case he would hardly have been surprised to see the superimposed image and would not have sent it to the Dorman Museum.

What is interesting historically, is not only the photograph itself, the fact that it was taken, or that a print found its way to Col. Mackenzie Smith, as the representative of St. Gregory's Minster; but that Smith himself seems to have taken it seriously as a supernatural image of real meaning - portraying some person or persons from three or four centuries ago; and - also surprisingly - that a similar view was taken by clerics or others from Ampleforth.

We were intrigued by the problems concerning the photograph. To make a proper appraisal of the technical aspects, one needed to know more about the type and size of camera and film or plate used, the focal length of the lens, the exposure and the development process; and whether the negative was still extant to study. We accordingly wrote to Colin Hardy in 1995, at the address shown on his letters, but received no reply.

Shortly afterwards, however, we were interviewed by June Haydon for the *Darlington and Stockton Gazette*; her account included a mention of our problem with the Ghost. A reader of the paper wrote to us subsequently, telling us that she had known Colin Hardy well; that he was a very keen amateur photographer; and that her long personal knowledge of him must rule out any suspicion of any deliberate attempt on his part to mislead others. She also said that he had emigrated to Canada and gave us his address there; we wrote to that address but received no reply.

Thus the matter rests, as great a mystery as it was in 1975, but a notable event in the long history of Kirkdale, and one of the few contacts that St. Gregory's Minster has had with the Catholic hierarchy since the Reformation. If the ghost is to be seen as a genuine manifestation, we may speculate on the identity or status of the figure or figures depicted. Was there some special occasion or happening to give rise to its appearance? One might believe this more readily if documentary evidence were forthcoming of some traumatic (or remarkable?) event at Kirkdale in the 17th century; perhaps readers of the *Historian* can help here?

NB. The copyright of the extracts quoted above do, of course, remain with the writers or their heirs.

Bert Frank 1913 - 1996.

Bert Frank M.B.E., founder of the now famous Ryedale Folk Museum at Hutton le Hole, died on 25 November 1996 aged 83. He attended Hutton Village School until he was 14 when he became a gamekeeper's lad. In 1929 a chill which developed into congestion of the lungs obliged him to give up the occupation he loved so well and take less strenuous farming jobs. As the following extracts from 'Life in Ryedale' (1), his narrative of some of the events of his long career show, he was a keen and thoughtful observer, not merely of what went on around him at the time, but whatever remained of the past. It was while delivering groceries round the moors that he noticed the many discarded objects and parts of machinery lying about. These gave him the idea of assembling the unique collection that grew into the award winning Folk Museum. As his friend, the distinguished archaeologist, Raymond Hayes, explained in his introduction to the 'Life'; 'by his enterprise he has extended the frontiers of his own time backwards into past centuries, throwing light on aspects of history which do not find a place in other museums.'

Hutton le Hole

'The village in 1920 was in some respect similar to that which we see today, and was composed of about sixty cottages. About a dozen new houses have been built since then. A smaller number of the older cottages have fallen into ruin and disappeared.

In my early school days the village could be seen as an open moorland settlement. It now has a wooded appearance. All sorts of animals roamed its greens and open spaces, horses, cows, sheep, donkeys, pigs which were continually grazing the herbage. The seed of any tree or shrub which managed to germinate, and push a few green leaves from the dark earth into the sunlight, was quickly cropped off by one of these roaming animals...

However, so tenacious and prolific is the spark of life, that some trees and shrubs survived to grow many feet high, only to be chopped down by the villagers to provide fencing materials for their hedges, shafts for tools, and for many other uses.

Today brackens are widespread, covering vast areas of moor and common land. In 1920 they were a much sought after commodity. Practically every householder required a stack of dried bracken for bedding for his animals; to put on his corn and haystacks; to put in a dirty yard for men to wipe their boots on before entering the house; and for covering potatoes and mangold pies.

The continuous mowing of bracken seemed to sap its vigour, and retard its growth, so preventing it from spreading. Since the last war the mechanization of farms and the changed economic structure which has come about has been such that there is no need for the community to cut and harvest bracken and this has resulted in a widespread expansion of this fast growing fern...

Hutton le Hole was not part of a large estate. It had been freehold for many hundreds of years. Many of the occupiers of the small farms and cottages only paid from five to ten pounds a year rent. There were none of the modern amenities which are considered so essential today, not one single bathroom or flush lavatory existed in the village in my early youth. We had a tap and a brown composition sink in our house, but they were not common. Most people got their water from a tap outside. Electric light did not make its appearance in the village until about 1950...

There were very few houses supplied with internal tap water. In the early twenties there were about ten taps spread about the village at different points. From these people collected their drinking water in a bucket, and it was a familiar sight to see half a dozen folks enjoying a good gossip as they collected their morning's supply of water.

There were also a few wells and springs and steps constructed down to the beck to remind us of how the villagers had obtained their water before the advent of a piped supply...

Gamekeeping Days

I left school in 1927 at the age of 14, to take up work as a gamekeeper's boy first on an estate in Douthwaite Dale and then on a much larger concern on the other side of the River Dove. Here there were three other gamekeepers besides myself and here I received my first proper training. I was based at Yoadwath Mill with the head gamekeeper, the other two spending most of their time on the Lingmoor part of the estate...

...About half way along the field, near the stream, a wooden hut had been erected, with a leanto on one side containing a boiler fired with wood. To feed pheasant chicks was a very expensive affair, and beyond the means of all but the very wealthy. In the hut were stored several sacks of biscuit meal or crumbs which had to be scalded with boiling water before use. There were also cases of hen eggs which were boiled hard, mashed up and mixed with the biscuit meal. To this was added boiled rabbit flesh from rabbits which were boiled until the flesh fell from the bones. It was minced quite small, with an added quantity of minerals.

All this was mixed together, and some fine dry meal was rubbed in, to dry off the surplus moisture. This rich mixture was fed to the chicks several times a day...

The fire had to be continuously stoked with wood for boiling eggs and flesh, a fair amount of time had to be spent preparing the chicks food; also I had to be on the lookout for hawks, carrion crows, magpies and other birds and animals which wanted to try a few chicks for dinner, but it still left plenty of time when there was nothing to do but watch and read.

The leanto of the hut formed something resembling a verandah. I had a seat under this, made from the stump of an old tree felled some years ago and with the aid of a pair of binoculars I could survey the whole field. Without the aid of these glasses I would have been at a serious disadvantage, for my eyesight was poor. No one knew of this: I kept it a secret for I did not want to wear spectacles. To make up for this I had a keen sense of hearing and smelling, not that you needed much of a nose to tell when the old dog fox had passed that way...

This was the summer of 1928. Two years earlier, the National Strike of the great majority of Britain's organized labour had disrupted the country: unemployment and poverty were widespread, wages were low, and work of any kind hard to get. I was lucky to have a job, though I only received fifteen shilling a week, or rather £3 a month, for our employer paid his employees only once a month. This was done at less cost to him than would have been the case had he paid out each week. Some of his workers had large families, and must have had a struggle to last from month to month. Their wages were from thirty shillings to two pounds a week. Of course many of them lived in tied cottages, and paid neither rates nor rent. They were the lucky ones for there were many with no job, and of course, no unemployment pay. They existed mainly by obtaining an odd day's work per week, sometimes working only for their food. Though I was only fifteen years old, I was conscious of the injustice of it all, for I was working on a rich man's estate, seeing all around the evidence of great wealth and luxury. The newspapers told of near starvation in the towns and industrial areas, women and children kept alive by portable soup kitchens, yet here I was boiling nutritious eggs and meat to feed to pheasants, simply to gratify the desire of one man to shoot at a moving target. Still, I enjoyed the life, for no one interfered with me, as long as I did my job well. I was free from the petty annoyances that most boys of my age had to put up with from their elders...

One of the principal duties of the gamekeeper was to be informed of all that was happening within his domain; this not only meant a continuous patrolling of his territory, but also an ability to read the signs left by man and wild creatures of their recent activity.

The estate on which I worked was roughly a mile and a half square, fringed by the market town of Kirbymoorside on the west, the village of Gillamoor to the north, Appleton le Moors to the east and the main road from Pickering to Kirbymoorside on the south. Half of this territory was in the Domesday Manor of Kirbymoorside, and the other half in the Manor of Spaunton, the ancient boundary between them being the small River Dove, which name meant, according to 'Place Name' experts, water, or perhaps dark

water, and was Celtic in origin. Thus, the stream had preserved an ancient name as it would have been spoken by local people at least two thousand years ago. I often pondered on this interesting past, as I watched the trout leap from its clear water to catch the unwary insects, or the waterhen lead its clutch of chicks from its nest of dead leaves from under the overhanging banks.

Many and varied were the reminders and monuments of the folk who had lived hereabouts from time immemorial. Constant reminders were always to hand, crossing freshly turned arable land, one could pick up worked flints of bronze age or earlier times, flint arrow heads or, more often, scrapers. What a thrill it was to find one of these fine examples of expert craftsmanship perfect in all detail, untarnished or damaged by the passage of two or three thousand years which had obliterated so many other objects made of less durable materials. Then there were mysterious mounds of earth which were known to be burial places of people of similar early date. I knew little about these things then, but they always exerted a certain fascination.

Raymond's First Love

So the time sped by. Autumn merged into winter which proved to be wet and cold, so much so that I was constantly soaked to the skin as I patrolled round the estate. In February I began to feel ill, and one day had to return home with a sharp pain in my right lung. The Doctor pronounced congestion of the right lung. At that time, there was not the drugs for doctors to use as there is today, and the treatment consisted of painting iodine on the chest and the patient sweating. I ate practically nothing for a month, and was kept alive by drinking lemon water. My most regular visitor was a lad about four years my senior. I looked forward to his visits for he always had plenty to talk about, and would discourse at some length, in a knowledgeable way on such subjects as moths, butterflies and insects of all kinds, but his great love was for snakes and lizards. One day when his Sunday School Teacher was reprimanding him, her flow of words was suddenly cut short by a loud scream as she caught sight of a snake wriggling out of his breast pocket. I hasten to say that this snake was not a poisonous adder, but the slow-worm which is really a lizard. The name of this boy was Raymond H. Hayes, later in life to be awarded the M.B.E. for his services to archaeology. During his life he accumulated a remarkable knowledge of archaeological matters.

One day the old Doctor called to see me and said as it was a fine sunny day I could get up and go outside. As soon as he had gone I got out of bed but collapsed on the floor, being too weak to stand upright. But the time came at last to take that never to be forgotten walk on the Village Green.'

1. Available from Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton le Hole, price £2.95. Extracts reproduced by kind permission of Mrs Eveline Frank and her son Robin.

The Rev DH Haigh and Runes at Kirkdale

by Lorna Watts

The Kirkdale Research Project into the Anglo-Saxon church is at present the Society's main field project (see Watts et al 1996-97). One aspect of this is research into the historiography of Kirkdale. Here, the Rev Haigh, runes and what can be described as the local Cedd tradition on the one hand and the 19th-century discovery of the Kirkdale Cave on the other seems to come together. Discussion of Kirkdale in a quasi-Bedeian, Anglian royal context seems only to originate after this, in the mid-19th century. It does not feature in earlier guides and discussions. Rather, it seems to be the creation of one man: the Rev Daniel Henry Haigh.

Haigh was born in 1819 and spent much of his life in Yorkshire before dying in 1879 (for this section, see Fowler 1881 and Stephen and Lee eds 1949-50). He was left an orphan as a teenager, but was henceforth a man of independent means. After a short time in business in Leeds, he was caught up by a 'Church revival' and was planning to become a Church of England priest; but when four of the clergy where he lived at St Saviour's Church, Leeds, became Roman Catholics, so did he - on Jan 1, 1847. He ascribed this conversion to the writings of Bede: and the inspiration of Bede seems to have continued as a leitmotiv in his subsequent work. He was, according to an obituary apparently written by his friend and working companion, the Rev JT Fowler, a conscientious and popular priest: 'Working with kindly and unobtrusive energy among the large population of poor Roman Catholics in Erdington, he went on training souls in goodness...it was a pleasant sight to witness how he went about among his people in his cassock and biretta, with a kind word or smile for all, for which young and old alike seemed ever to be on the look out.' Fowler continues: 'Such was this good man in his ministerial capacity. His recreation consisted in the study of the past, and herein his heart ever turned to Yorkshire with especial pleasure. His interests were wide, from biblical studies and Assyriology, to numismatics (for which he is still admired) and to things Anglo-Saxon. He was regarded as the chief authority in England on Runic literature, at a time when the subject was just starting, and many inscriptions were being both identified and collected for the first time. The English section of George Stephens' *Runic Monuments* was dedicated to him' (Stephens and Lee eds. 1949-50, 884).

Haigh wrote and published prolifically during a long and extensive working life. One of his earliest articles is a paper on another Anglo-Saxon church, that of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire (Haigh 1846); and he continued to write for another three decades. He was also a copious and helpful correspondent. He valued Anglo-Saxon monuments 'as illustrating the state of civilization of our forefathers in the seventh century' (Haigh 1857, 179); and he hoped that by drawing attention to what he described as 'the few remaining monuments of Anglo-Saxon antiquity' that he would 'excite a deeper interest in these remains, and stimulate farther research' (ibid, 186).

From the caricature of Haigh in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass* (Carroll 1955, especially 192-4) it is clear that Haigh was not altogether a serious figure to his contemporaries, amongst whom he apparently had some stern critics. He was on the one hand thoroughly industrious, visiting many newly-discovered monuments during working tours and he was a copious writer; but he was quite capable of confusing what he found with his reconstruction of the original. This is part of the trouble with his connection with Kirkdale; the other is that much of his Kirkdale data does not come directly from him, but only as reported by others; this itself is a puzzle.

What he had to say about Kirkdale is derived from a variety of sources. There is what he published himself; there is the unpublished Parker Manuscript, in the section written in 1858; and finally there are Tudor 1876 and Frank 1888.

The first published reference to Kirkdale by Haigh himself seems to be that of 1857, in his paper on the Bewcastle Cross (Haigh 1857). Although he refers to three crosses at Kirkdale, the main interest of this paper is that he already 'conceived' it to have been 'Laestingean' (Haigh 1857, 173). His major papers on non-portable and portable Yorkshire runes were published in 1869-70 and 1873 (Haigh 1869-70 and Haigh 1873) - he regarded non-portable monuments as a better guide to native speech - but they contain no mention of Kirkdale at all.

He again refers to Kirkdale in print in 1879 in a paper on Yorkshire sundials (Haigh 1879) (he never, it seems, published a paper devoted to Kirkdale as such). He again refers to three crosses; 'one with the crucifixion, one with knotwork, and the third plain' (Haigh 1879, 150); that is, he does not

record an inscription on any of these, although he does express another expectation: 'It is very desirable that these should be taken out and preserved from further decay; and when this shall be done, I am convinced that interesting sculpture and inscriptions will be revealed' (ibid, 150).

Thus in his own works over more than twenty years, from 1857 to 1879, Haigh does not refer to runes in a technical sense or to Anglian kings at Kirkdale. The most he commits himself to are the expectations that it was the site of Lastingham and that inscriptions will be found.

Already however, long before this, according to authors who apparently corresponded with or had met Haigh, he had done just this. These authors do not seem to have drawn on a single common source, which makes their evidence less easy to dismiss.

According to Charles Tudor, a London architect and son of an incumbent of Kirkdale, who published his invaluable *A Brief Account of Kirkdale Church*, complete with many drawings and elevations in 1876, Haigh first visited Kirkdale in the summer of 1846 (Tudor 1876, 6). Frank's *Ryedale and North Yorkshire Antiquities* confirms that Haigh was in the area in 1846, when he also discovered the Old Byland sundial (1888, 114).

No runes are mentioned in the context of the 1846 visit. Later in his Account, Tudor records that Haigh discovered the runes by making a rubbing of the stone, when 'he saw that there were distinct runes in the angles of the cross'; and that, on a subsequent visit to Kirkdale he saw the runes and took their impression (Tudor 1876, 8-9).

According to Thomas Parker, a fellow Catholic, who lived at Wombledon, writing in 1858, it was just two years before, in 1856 that Haigh had taken impressions by gutta-percha (a rubbery material) (Parker MS typescript, 7). Haigh was also in Ryedale again in 1870. During this trip, Frank accompanied 'these enthusiastic antiquarians, when casts were taken of the Kirkdale stones' (Frank 1888, 114). Frank adds that Haigh had presented him with his drawing of the 'King Oethilwald monument at Kirkdale' (ibid, 115).

Parker's details of what was found are the earliest whose date we can be sure of, that they refer to pre-1858: 'On the tombstone of Edilwald is an elaborately carved cross surrounded with scroll work; above and beneath the stem of the cross, is the inscription, in ancient Runic characters, now partly worn out, but yet enough remains so as to convince the most incredulous of Antiquarians...' (Parker MS typescript, 7).

Tudor, a few years later, in 1876, provides information about what the runes looked like and what they said. He quotes verbatim from Haigh, but not apparently from the same source as Parker. The runes, Tudor says, 'were not all distinct, but some were so, and there were traces of others'. Thus he had the name of Ethilwald preceded by his title, and apparently the beginning of the word gebidath, 'pray', so that he fancied the inscription must have been on the line at the head of the stone, and ended at the foot now hidden by the tower. Mr. Haigh only read the name CYNING OETHILWALD. The B before, and the X/G after, he thought were parts of an inscription begun above, finished below. The beginning might contain the name of anybody who carved it. The end word 'gebiddath theore soule', 'pray for the soul' (Tudor 1876, 8-9).

We do not know either when Haigh wrote up his observations or when he wrote to Tudor, perhaps on more than one occasion; but even if it was some time after 1846, Tudor was published three years before Haigh's paper of 1879 which does not refer to runes.

In his Pl 6, Tudor provides the only drawing that details the runes, from a sketch of Haigh's, which he had presumably reconstructed from the scratches he had observed. For their location on the stone, we have to rely on Frank's

Antiquities. Frank's drawing, 'a facsimile of the original pen and ink drawing by his [Haigh's] own hand', which he gave to Frank, is the only one to show in detail where the runes were said to have been (Frank 1888, 136). Frank is the only other person recorded as having seen and been convinced by the runes.

To summarise, Haigh himself does not seem to have mentioned in print the Kirkdale runes, although their discovery and translation are attributed to him. We learn from local authors that he visited Kirkdale in 1846, 1856 and 1870; and that he only discovered 'runes' by taking impressions. From Parker we know that this was before 1858, but when in the period 1846-58 we cannot be certain. From Tudor we have both a copy of Haigh's sketch of the reconstructed runes and also his interpretation of their meaning; and from Frank, details of their position on the stone.

Now must we, like most subsequent critics, dismiss these as Haigh's invention? It may be worth remembering that Haigh may have had a bad press at least in part because he was a Catholic. Yet as Mr Weatherill observed, 'It seems strange that after 800 years runes could still be read but in [an]other 50 years had completely disappeared' (Weatherill 1959, 7).

But what if there were runes on the coffin stone, as Haigh thought (Kirkdale stone no. 7 - Lang 1991, 161-2), even if Haigh was mistaken in his reading of them? What does a modern runologist make of these and what can they tell us? Do they, as preserved by Tudor, make any sense? Even if Haigh was filling-out what he thought he saw, did he do it sensibly? Can we guess what his models might have been? Can a date be assigned (either contemporary with the death of Aethelwald some time in the late 7th century; or later)? Would the designation 'cyning' be appropriate to the 7th century context Haigh would like it to refer to? Are there any parallels to runes in such a position?

We have some comments from Professor Ray Page, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: 'they are all genuine rune forms except for his letter for initial *c/k/...*; the formula starting *cyning* is in the reverse order to other Old English texts; ...runes confined to a small part of a sculpture can also be found at Chester-le-Street.'

Meanwhile, the matter could be investigated with infra-red photography and any other appropriate techniques. We must probably conclude that they were the invention - either deliberately or the result of wishful-thinking by Haigh himself; his own reluctance to publish them himself during his 25-year acquaintance with Kirkdale may favour deliberate invention or at the very least over-optimistic interpretation of irregularities on the stone only detected by rubbing and taking impressions.

If this is so, can we understand why this came about? Tudor provides the best clues in solving this puzzle. We have already seen that Bede was an inspirational force on Haigh, an interest that did not need to be justified. The order of development of Haigh's thought as presented by Tudor from Haigh's own correspondence was that:

(i) Initially Haigh was puzzled by the etymology of the name of Lastingham as given in Bede (Tudor 1876, 4), distinguishing himself between "the water of the Lestings" as he identified the Bedean name; and "the home of the Lestings" of the present placename

(ii) Thus he was 'led to look for another site near to Laestingham, and better answering' Bede's description

(iii) Haigh dwelt on the topographical details about Lastingham in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Bk III, Ch 23) 'amongst steep and remote mountains, in which there appeared to have been rather the hiding-places of robbers and

caves of wild beasts, than abodes of men' (Tudor 1876, 4). Tudor quotes Haigh (in the context of 1846) saying that it was 'the loneliness of the site, and, above all, the Hyena's Cave in the opposite cliffs that particularly convinced him that Kirkdale was indeed the Bedean Lastingham.

There are at least two ironies here: firstly, that Bedean commentators did not take the description of the monastery of Lastingham as describing a unique, individual place - rather it was a literary *topos*, a convention that provided the right sort of pedigree to the site, and secondly, that there is no evidence that the animal-bone cave was visible in the Anglo-Saxon period - Haigh is chronologically-mislead by many thousands of years. The cave was only broken into by quarrying in 1821, but its discovery seems to have inspired Haigh and thus the 'hyena den' entered the historiography of the church.

(iv) Although we cannot be sure of the chronology of Haigh's ideas, it looks as if the runes were grafted on later, to consolidate the correlation between Kirkdale and Bede's Lastingham. As Haigh himself put it (as quoted by Tudor 1876, 8, in relation to plate 6): "For my own part, I am satisfied that this is the lid of the coffin of King Oethilwald and as Laestingaen was to have been the place of his burial, that Kirkdale is the site of the monastery of S. Cedd".

This pursuit of the runes might be regarded as unnecessary, if it were not for their continuing influence on Kirkdale. If Professor Page is right, as many critics decided nearly a century ago, this detective story has nonetheless been worth-while as it highlights the 'baggage' left behind in the wake of invention of the runes: namely the false direct association of Cedd and named Anglian royalty with Kirkdale.

Various reasons can be suggested for why we have tended to lose sight of this train of development, such as the lack of a modern study of Haigh that might have picked up that he himself does not refer to the Kirkdale runes. Then Tudor's invaluable publication is little known, even though the Taylors used him. The final twist is that Haigh was on the right track, but that he sowed confusion by naming names. As Collingwood wrote in a letter of Oct 28, 1911, to the Rev Powell: 'That we can't give names to the important people buried there is unfortunate; but very few of these pre-Norman stones can be attributed to known historical personages. It was the fallacy of the last generation to assign names too hastily: Haigh had no business whatever to attach Aethelwald or Cedd to slabs at Kirkdale, and it was pure fancy on his part...' (Kirkdale Vicarage Archive).

Meanwhile, our recent excavations are tending to support both an early date for the foundation of Kirkdale and also its importance, although much archaeological particularisation remains to be defined.

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REVIEW

David S. Neal

Excavations on the Roman Village at Beadlam, North Yorkshire
Yorkshire Archaeological Report No. 2
(Yorks. Archaeol. Soc, Leeds, 1996) 139pp, 60 figs, 11 tables

The Roman village at Beadlam lies about 2km east of Helmsley, just south of the A170, where the River Riccal emerges from its dale. As this report makes clear, the presence of mounds grown over by nettles and thistles in pasture that had not been ploughed within living memory, had long been known to local archaeologists who dismissed them as 'old cart sheds'. Then, in 1965, field walking by A.L. Pacitto after ploughing, led to the discovery of Roman building material. Pacitto and Ian Stead excavated the site between 1996 and 1978 while a geophysical survey was undertaken in 1992.

The Beadlam village is the only one in the North whose remains are visible: it is now in Guardianship, and there have long been plans to develop it as a visitor attraction, if and when funds permit. As one of the few villas in our region, the size of a large modern farm, it is of major interest; and is an important site in national terms as well. The excavation is by far the largest ever undertaken in Ryedale, exceeded locally only by that of the settlement at West Heslerton in the Vale.

It is accordingly a great satisfaction that it is at last published as a major monograph. Not without difficulties: many of the finds, such as samian, coins and iron, and some of the records had been lost over the years, and it has been a herculean task for David Neal to reconstruct this report from photographs, radiographs and notes with the help of specialist reports. He is the foremost scholar of mosaics in Britain, and has made a colour picture of the Beadlam example cube by cube.

First, let us reconstruct the outline story of the villa from the report.

The site is on the south side of the Helmsley-Kirbymoorside road, on an area of slightly raised ground by the River Riccal. As with many villas, an attractive area was chosen, in an agriculturally-rich area, with ample reserves of water, wood and stone. Earlier Neolithic and Bronze Age use of the site is witnessed by concentrations of flints and some nearby barrows. Because of the intention to consolidate the site as an 'ancient monument' there was little excavation in depth, so knowledge of the pre-villa phases is at present very limited.

The earliest settlement, (mostly defined geophysically), (Fig. 1) consisted of a large ditched enclosure, possibly for rounding-up stock. Other ditched compounds and a few building features seem to have been for mixed farming. Although the pottery continues the Iron Age traditions of the area, the

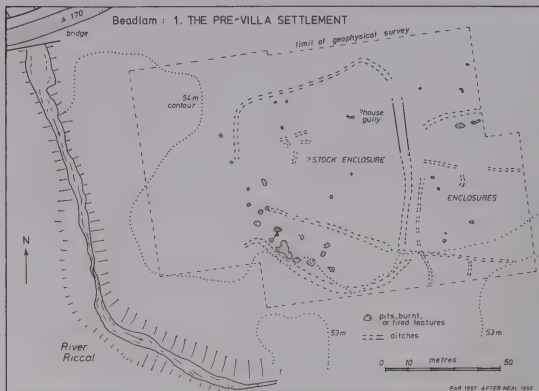


Fig. 1

associated samian makes it clear that none of this complex is earlier than the later second century AD; but there is little evidence of Romanisation. A published (1988) identification of an earlier Dressel 1 amphora has now been discounted.

This settlement, presumably with timber building, was succeeded, at an unknown date, by a series of disjointed stone footings and paths, again apparently of walled compounds and structures (Fig. 2)

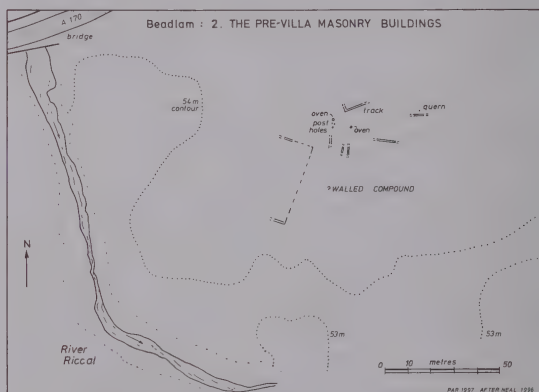


Fig. 2

The villa buildings (Fig. 3), the main phase explored, seem to be entirely of fourth century and later date. There were three ranges of villa-type, with several other buildings of contemporary and later date. It is the north of these ranges that is now visible in a consolidated form; this northern range is aligned nearly west-east, with the other ranges to west and east, aligned north-south.

The NORTH RANGE is seen as originally to have been a winged corridor building with roughly symmetrical wings at each end (for two families?) linked by large barn-like rooms with painted plaster and cement floors, and a south-facing verandah. The central area was subsequently subdivided into rooms, one of which had a mosaic, and was heated by a

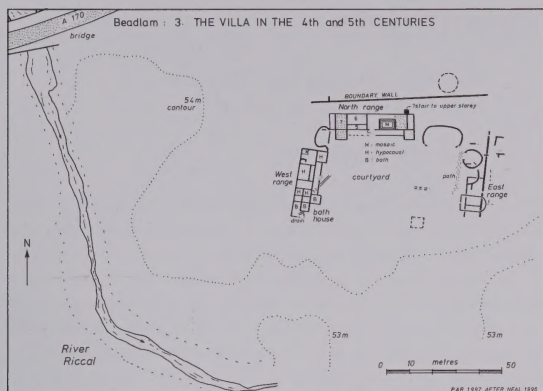


Fig. 3

hypocaust. There was probably an upper story, and there were glazed windows. Numerous coins date through to issues of the latest 4th and earliest 5th centuries, the last Roman coinage to reach Britain.

The WEST RANGE was also of winged corridor plan. The southern wing is an elaborate bath-house, with warm and hot baths, a plunge bath, and dressing-exercise areas. Two other rooms at the east end were heated, and this was presumably a living area. This range seems to have gone out of regular use by the middle of the fourth century.

The water for the bath-house drained out to the south-west towards the river. The water supply presumably came from a leat further north (not yet found) which may also have driven a mill (see below).

The EAST RANGE was of several phases, with a variety of buildings, mostly within an enclosure wall, of apsidal, circular and ovoid plans. Many of the latest coins were found here.

This laconic summary of the three ranges disguises their extreme structural complexity, which Neal disentangles as far as he can from the data available to him. Apart from the bath-house, there is little certain evidence of the function of individual rooms or areas, or of relative dates; but many are suggested, and more can be gleaned from the finds reports.

Copper alloy and silver objects include a stylus and a bowl, possibly inscribed FELICITER ('Good Luck'); both imply a degree of literacy. Numerous objects of jet and shale could indicate some craft-working. There were two remarkable hoards of scrap iron from the northern range in Room 6. Axe, knife, mason's pick, saw, padlock, hinge, trowel, latch-lifter, a leather-cutting tool, spear, animal bell, ballista bolt-head, flesh hook and bent-up scythes: all indicate the range of activities that might have been going on. It is almost as if, perhaps, when the place was abandoned, someone went round the whole village collecting all the iron they could find and hid it in one room, never to recover it.

Stone querns include two that are too large to be domestic, hinting at an animal – or water-powered mill, the latter perhaps driven off the same leat as that feeding water to the baths.

The pottery has a range restricted to fairly local kilns; and includes much of the coarse calcite-gritted wares continuing from the Iron Age into and past the Late Roman period.

The most remarkable finds are, however the glass. The pieces include 316 fragments from windows, and 583 from vessels – by far the largest

quantity of Late Roman glass from any rural site north of the Humber; the mould-blown vessels represented are rare in Britain, and are of European importance. Finally, there are two infant burials, on in a jar with a lid; these are common in Roman villas. There are also human remains of at least four individuals to which I shall return.

Discussion in the report is useful. Some wider perspective is given of the difficult problems of the Romanisation of Ryedale, and of the significance of the earlier phases. There are hints on possible uses of the villa and its buildings, and of such phasing and dating as was possible with the limited depth of excavation. There is some mention of the few other villas known in the Vale of Pickering, including Hovingham, (8 km to the south) East Ness and, towards the Wolds, those near Malton, such as Langton.

The wealth of the villa inhabitants is clear from the buildings, mosaic and finds, implying an agricultural surplus: 'an essentially rural class quite happy in their life-style, reserving the mosaic room for special gatherings, but making full use of the other rooms and buildings for living and working (even with earth floors) in some comfort'.

The remarkably high proportion of coins of the later fourth century, extending to around AD 400 with issues of Honorius and Arcadius (and this is true too of Langton and the hoard at Hovingham) hint at a certain feeling of security due to the signal stations, and, perhaps links with the possible housing at Malton of a unit of the Imperial Household Cavalry (witnessed at Beadlam by a spur, spear, and the ballista bolt?). Was the supply of food to these military forces the economic incentive?

Neal, like many archaeologists whose primary interest is in the Romans, is reluctant to think of the fifth century, except to hint that the latest occupation may extend into it. Evidence is growing, however, and not only in East Yorkshire, that Roman Britain, in the sense of the material culture found by archaeologists, includes all of the fifth century and beyond; the major changes in East Yorkshire are with the establishment of 'Anglo-Saxon' settlements and their cemeteries (notably absent in Ryedale) in the sixth century. Many of the finds, including the large amount of pottery, could thus be 'residual', material still in use. A few items could indeed be later than c.400 – a zoomorphic bone comb with horses' heads, which can be paralleled in Frisia; a penannular brooch not unlike 6th century types in the British West; a lobed brooch terminal; and a strap-end with chip-carved ornament similar to Anglo-Saxon brooches.

While the principal building ranges are clearly fourth century, there is some evidence that some subsidiary ones are later. These include both circular ends linked by straight side walls). The latter are now matched by the remarkable 'Latest Roman' buildings at West Heslerton, which as associated with a non-secular use of the site.

At Beadlam, there are few indications of religious affiliation. A leaf-shaped bone object can be matched in pagan temple votive finds elsewhere, and a brooch depicting a fish could hint at a Christian presence.

The report is very much for the dedicated reader, and not at all easy to use. There is a lack of overall phase plans, such as that drawn for this review. Buildings are numbered in an arabic numeral sequence; but so too are the rooms in each range! What one needs, as is now standard in much archaeological recording, is a single four-figure reference number for each and every wall in its phases, and every feature and other context.

No drawings have suggested functions indicated; there is, for instance, no plan with the name "bath-house"! Nor are any reconstructions attempted.

Colour illustrations include an excellent view of the North Range by Raymond Hayes (on the cover) and Neal's fine painting of the mosaic.

The author has included a generous number of Tony Paccito's excellent photographs, to show what these buildings looked like under excavation. A more popular handbook is badly needed for this most exotic of Ryedale's pre-Norman monuments. It is to be hoped that if and when the site is presented for public viewing (including those parts uncovered but not left open) this will be done.

There are also a number of editorial shortcomings including some typographical and spelling errors. And there are more serious lapses. The north point of the geophysical survey differs by some 15° from those of the building plans, and they themselves are c 7° different (the other way) from the north (presumably the correct one) in the plan showing the village buildings in relation to road and river. It would seem that the 'north' on the building plans (that of the imperial and metric grid used) was a notional one only, probably based on a compass.

An adult female skeleton is said to be from Room 5 of Building 7 in text, but Room 6 in the specialist report. Another adult female is said in the text to be from Room 7, but not reported on; and two more identifiable human groups of bones are included by the specialist but not mentioned in the text.

Who are these individuals? There is further uncertainty as to whether they are 'corpses disposed of in a ruined villa' or dying there; or whether they are graves dug into rubble, or corpses covered by it. No grave-cuts were visible, and the floor was not penetrated. Neal suggests the possibility that 'the old villa buildings may have been identified as foci of native families anxious to retain links with ancestors'. Whoever they were, the skeletons would seem to belong to the very latest 'use' of the site, and to represent very casual disposal, evocative of a difficult time in our area.

Many themes remain to be explored, apart from a fuller investigation of the site itself and its ancillary features, such as the leat and possible mill. What were the estates of such villas in Ryedale and how did they relate to earlier land-units? We may expect a villa every few kilometres along the southern fringes of the Moors: many remain to be discovered, and what happened to such estates? Did they pass into Anglo-Saxon hands (of whom we have virtually no evidence before their Christianisation)? How do they relate to the later pattern of monastic or other ecclesiastical holdings, such as nearby Kirkdale? or to the medieval and later settlement pattern of farms, villages and small towns? Such questions provide an agenda for the next century at least!

This great building complex must have been visible as ruinous overgrown walls for many centuries. It is tempting to think that this is reflected in the very name of Beadlam: *Boldum* in Domesday, interpreted as the dative of *bold* and meaning 'at the buildings'.

In spite of some problems, the book is a major addition to the archaeological literature for Ryedale, and well worth buying and studying – but it is not an easy read. Emulate this reviewer and have a set of coloured pencils handy. We look forward to the time in the next millennium when English Heritage can display and interpret the villa to a much wider public that this volume will reach.

Philip Rahtz

Pamphlets

'Tragedy on the North Yorks Moors'.
'Help! Save the Thirteen Perches'

W. Lorne Wilkinson. 1997.

The North York Moors National Park contains large areas of common land which are subject to rights descending from medieval times when such land was waste of the manor. Certain people living nearby may graze animals, cut bracken and remove peat, turf and stones for their own use. Nowadays a common right is classified in law as 'real property' – it is a direct interest in the land. As such it can be a source of conflict with the owner – the Lord of the Manor – when he does not see eye to eye with the commoners. Broadly the principle that has evolved after centuries of intermittent dispute is that the owner may exploit the land for his own profit – letting down the surface to obtain the minerals for example – so long as he returns it to its former state as soon as is reasonable. In the meantime it is his responsibility to make sure sufficient space is available in other parts of the common for all to exercise their rights.

In 1965 an Act of Parliament required common land to be registered, and the number of permitted animals to be precisely stated. Thereupon the Lord of the Manor of Spaunton which includes Hutton le Hole, Spaunton, Lastingham, Rosedale West, and Appleton le Moors within its boundary, objected to the commoners' claim, more especially that they had the right to put out an unlimited number of animals. The Chief Commons Commissioner was called upon to arbitrate; after a ten day hearing at Malton in December 1979, he ordered a reduction in the number of animals permitted to graze. But, at the same time, he confirmed that rights existed in respect of more than one hundred properties within the Manor.

Mr Lorne Wilkinson is a commoner who has made a lifetime study of the subject (the title of his second pamphlet refers to the amount of land granted to a soldier's wife or fiancée during absence on military service). Although he recounts much fascinating historical detail, the author's chief purpose was to place on record the difficulties he claims to have experienced with regard to the exercise of his rights in the Manor of Spaunton. Protest by individuals against a superior force has a long and honourable tradition as countless pamphlets in the British Library testify. These have a place beside them.

Anne Taylor.

